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The Caesarean text of the gospel of Mark.

Lake, Kirsopp,
The Caesarean text of the gospel of Mark, by Kirsopp Lake, Robert P.Blake, and Silva New.
1928.

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group which had been indicated in "Codex 1 and its Allies," and he submerged Θ, 565, 700, and 28 in the group which he called I^a. The group including family 1 he called I^η in his apparatus, and H^r in his introduction. Family 13 he called I^t in his apparatus and J in his introduction. Unfortunately he also added Codex Bezae to the group I^a. His theory was that this group of MSS. forms the best representative of a Jerusalem recension, found in the quotations of Eusebius; that the text of D is much contaminated by Latin influences, but otherwise belongs to the same group as Θ, 565, 700, and 28 and is the best representative of the I-text; and that family 1 and family 13, though generally speaking they preserve the I-text, represent two different and inferior lines of attestation. From the first von Soden was criticized for his treatment of D, but for some time it was not recognized that he was wrong in separating family 1 and family 13 from Θ, 565, 700, 28.

The next step forward was made in 1923 in an article in the Harvard Theological Review [8] which pointed out the true relations between these MSS., reviving and adding to the paragraphs in "Codex 1 and its Allies." The writers then thought not of Caesarea but of a locality farther east as the possible home of the text. It must indeed be admitted that the author of "Codex 1 and its Allies" had entirely forgotten that he had ever thought of Caesarea and could hardly believe it when, a little later, the reviser of his "Text of the New Testament" confronted him with the printed statement in the first edition (p. 21).

Meanwhile Canon Streeter in Oxford was busy in the preparation of his book, "The Four Gospels." [9] He accepted the results of the article in the Harvard Theological Review, and added to them the very important point that the text of the family was used by Origen in Caesarea. Following the analogy of the symbols 'fam^1' and 'fam^{13}' he used the term 'family Θ' for the whole group.

Streeter was certainly right in saying that the evidence proves

[8] K. Lake and R. P. Blake, 'The Text of the Gospels and the Koridethi Codex,' in Harvard Theological Review, XVI, 1923, pp. 267 ff.

[9] B. H. Streeter, The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins, London, 1924.

conclusively that Origen used the text of family Θ while he was in Caesarea, but unfortunately the suggestion that the change in Origen's text corresponds to his change of residence is not wholly supported by the facts, and we have devoted a section of the present article to a somewhat fuller statement and discussion of the text of Origen.

The next step in the unravelling of the problem was taken in time to be announced by Streeter in his "Four Gospels." R. P. Blake, then in Oxford, called Streeter's attention to the Georgian version, and Streeter at once perceived that the Georgian version in its oldest form clearly belonged to the same group as Θ. The two did not, however, work out the implications of this discovery, which are treated at length in the present article.

Immediately after this, the three writers of the present article formed a committee of inquiry into the Caesarean text. Our original plan was to edit the Caesarean text of the Gospel of Mark. This plan we have not wholly abandoned, but it will require more time than we at first supposed, and we here present an interim report, consisting of three sections:

I. The evidence of Greek MSS., with a tabular presentation of the variants in Mark i, vi, and xi, and some suggestions as to the relations between the various manuscripts. For the sake of clearness a discussion of the later widely current text, which is a necessary though subordinate part of this study, is removed to Excursus I; and we have ventured to substitute the term 'Ecclesiastical' for the more familiar, but possibly misleading, 'Antiochian' or 'Byzantine.' In Excursus IV we give the reconstructed text of Mark i, vi, and xi.

II. Patristic evidence, consisting of the quotations in the two great Caesarean writers, Origen and Eusebius. This investigation confirms the localization of the text at Caesarea, but gives a somewhat different color to Streeter's discovery and raises an important problem as to the provenance of the Neutral text.

III. The evidence of Georgian, Armenian, and Syriac versions. It seemed desirable, inasmuch as the Georgian version is one of the best witnesses to this text, to include as Excursus II

a longer statement as to the date of the Georgian version. The Georgian and Armenian versions are probably both based on a Syriac version of Caesarean type, and we believe that we succeed in showing that this version is best represented in Syriac by the so-called Palestinian Syriac, which exists in a tolerably complete lectionary form in the Evangeliarium Hierosolymitanum and also one time older fragments of continuous text. Our researches at first in the margin raised the suspicion that the text of family Θ was useful to prove Caesarean to have little importance for the elucidation of the Caesarean text but to be valuable for the understanding of the Harclean, and we have printed it as Excursus III.

Finally, it seems desirable to emphasize again that our studies have been designedly limited to the text of Mark. It is quite possible that the situation is different in the other gospels; but the examination of this question must be reserved for another article.

→ J. J. Griesbach, Commentarius Criticus, 1811 (esp. pp. xxxvi)

→ K. Lake, Codex 1 and its Allies, Texts and Studies, VII, (esp. p. lx

→ ibid., The Text of the New Testament, 1 ed., 1898 (6th ed. rev. by S. New, 1928 (esp. pp. 22 and 84).

→ H. von Soden, Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments, I. Teil, II Abteilung, 1907, pp 1042 ff.

I. The Evidence of Greek Manuscripts

The Greek manuscripts which we discussed in this Review in 1923 were Θ fam^{1} fam^{13} 28 565 and 700. Four additions might reasonably be made to these: (*a*) The group which von Soden calls Φ and Streeter refers to as family 1424, (*b*) Codex 1071, (*c*) Berlin P. 13416, (*d*) Codex W. Of these we have ignored the first because, though Streeter is doubtless right in regarding it as at least containing a Caesarean element, it is probably less important than any of the other witnesses, and properly to reconstruct its evidence would have added more to the labor of preparing this article, and delayed its publication longer, than we thought tolerable. Codex 1071 is certainly a weak Caesarean manuscript, but it seems to us scarcely good enough to include at present, though it would have to be considered in a full edition of the Caesarean text. The Berlin fragment P. 13416 stands on a different level. It is unfortunately very short, but so far as it goes it is extremely good. We have printed it separately before the Tables. Codex W in Mark vi ff. is clearly Caesarean, though not one of the best witnesses, and we have included it in our Tables for chapters vi and xi.

The Berlin Fragment

The most important new contribution to our knowledge of the witnesses for the Θ-family was made by A. H. Salonius of Helsingfors by his publication of P. 13416, from the Berlin collection of papyri, in the Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, xxvi, 1927, pp. 101 ff.

Berlin P. 13416 is a vellum fragment of the seventh century, and was purchased at Hermoupolis (Eschmunein) in Egypt. It is not included in von Soden's or Gregory's lists. The following collation of Salonius's transcript with the Textus Receptus shows that the fragment comes from a codex which was strongly marked by Caesarean readings. The variant ωs ευρησων for ει αρα ευρησει in xi. 13 is specially characteristic. But the fragment also contains an unusual number of singular readings,

and suggests either that the variation within the Caesarean text may have been greater than the existing evidence would indicate, or that the correction of manuscripts to the standard of the Ecclesiastical Text went even further than we had thought. Readings marked with an asterisk appear to be singular readings.

xi. 13 *μακροθεν*] *απο μακροθεν* c. Θ fam^{1} fam^{13} 28 565 700 (W) ℵ BCLΔAN(D)
εχουσαν φυλλα] *om
ει αρα ευρησει] *ως ευρησων* c. Θ 565 700 Grg^{2B} Orig a f q
και ελθων] *ελθων δε* c. 565 Orig a f
επ αυτην] om (cf. 700 Grg^{2B}) c. a g^{1} (cf. D lat)
ει μη φυλλα] *εν αυτη* c. Grg^{2B}
καιρος] **καρπος*

14 *και αποκριθεις ο ιησους*] *ο δε ιησους* (cf. *και* sine *αποκριθεις ο ιησους* Grg^{2} a b c ff$_{2}$ i pesh)
μηκετι εκ σου εις τον αιωνα μηδεις καρπον φαγοι] **μηκετι μηδεις απο σου καρπον φαγοι εις τον αιωνα* hoc ordine
εκ σου] **απο σου*
και ηκουον οι μαθηται αυτου] add verba aliqua, probabiliter *παλιν προσ-* (cf. add *παλιν* N al pauc)

15 *ο ιησους*] om c. f^{1} 28 565 700 W Grg$^{1.2}$ ℵBCLΔ 33 D lat arm syr^{sin}
κατεστρεψεν] *ανεστρεψεν* (cf. Orig. in Joh. p. 191)

16 *ινα τις διενεγκη*] **διενεγκειν τινα*

17 *εδιδασκε λεγων*] *ελεγε* (cf. *εδιδασκε και ελεγε* fam^{13} Grg^{1} ℵBCLΔ k pesh Orig)
ου] om c. Θ fam^{1} 28 565 Grg$^{1.2}$ D b c i k q boh arm
οτι] om c. 69 CD a c k q arm aeth

Tables of Variants

In the following Tables of Variants (pp. 216–246) we present, as accurately as we can, the evidence of Θ fam^{1} fam^{13} 28 565 700 W and the Georgian version, adding at the left the chief supporting evidence from outside for the Caesarean text, and at

the right giving the Textus Receptus with its chief supporting evidence. The letter 'f' indicates that the MS. in question gives the non-ecclesiastical reading. When there is double or triple variation within the family, the divergent readings are given below the main reading with the evidence for each. In the Tables these variants are indicated by the numbers attached to them. In many cases they are merely variations of one original, but this is not always so. We abandoned the attempt to use von Soden's apparatus, and confined ourselves to Tischendorf and to the editions of individual manuscripts. Nor have we quoted the evidence with complete fullness, especially that in support of the Textus Receptus. Variations of spelling have been given only where they seemed of some significance, e.g. ναζαρεθ for ναζαρετ, but not κραββατοις for κραβατοις.

Fam^{1} and fam^{13} are quoted as groups. Singular variants in any manuscript within either group are not quoted; nor are manuscripts of either group cited when they have the reading of the Textus Receptus against a reading in the reconstructed text of the group. In cases, however, where the reconstructed text of the group agrees with the Textus Receptus and one manuscript within the group has a variant reading found elsewhere in the Caesarean family, this variant reading is given. It should be observed that the text of fam^{13} has not yet been reconstructed finally (see pp. 327 f.).

Variants which are not elsewhere attested are given in separate lists at the end of the tables, except when they have already been included as second or third variants.

The Adysh manuscript of the Georgian is quoted as G^{1}, the two manuscripts of the edition of Beneševič as G^{2}, and when there is a variant between them, the Opiza manuscript is called A and the Tbet' manuscript B. The Georgian MSS. are discussed below, pp. 290–294.

With some hesitation we have not included the evidence of Origen and Eusebius. Their quotations, though invaluable as a 'control,' are not extensive enough to be represented in the Tables without a wrong impression being created when they are silent. For the testimony of these writers the next section (pp. 258–285), in which it is given, must be consulted.

The evidence presented in the two extreme columns, on left and right, is a selection, not a full statement, from Tischendorf's apparatus, which, except in rare instances, we have not attempted to verify. We have, however, added the evidence of the Sinaitic Syriac and, in Mark i, that of Codex W, which in this chapter is probably not Caesarean, but has many interesting readings.

Tables for the Caesarean Text of Mark I, VI, and XI

Mark	*Caesarean Text*	Θ	fam[1]	fam[13]	28	565	700	G[1]	G[2]	*Textus Receptus*	
1. 1. ℵ Ir Tit Serap arm	om.	f	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	f	ς	*υιου του θεου*	AEFGHKΔΠ
2. ℵBKLΔΠ 33 arm	*καθως*	f	f	ς	ς	f	f	—	—	*ως*	DWAEFGΠ Ir
D lat vg boh pesh hcl[mg] arm Ir Serap	*εν Ησαια τω προφητη*	f	f	ς	ς	2	f	f[1]	f[1]	*εν τοις προφηταις*	WAEFGHΠ hcl arm aeth
ℵBLΔ 33	2 *εν τω Ησαια τω προφητη*										
BD lat Ir	*αποστελλω*	2	ς	ς	f	f	ς	f	ς	*εγω αποστελλω*	ℵALPΓΔΠW vg hcl arm
ℵ al. pauc boh	2 *αποστελω*										
ℵBLKΠDW a b c l boh pesh aeth	om.	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	*εμπροσθεν σου*	AΓΔ f ff[1·2] g[1·2] vg boh hcl arm
3. arm	vox clamoris	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	f	*φωνη βοωντος*	all others
4. D lat vg pesh Cyr	*εν τη ερημω βαπτιζων*	f	ς	ς	f	ς	f	ς	2	*βαπτιζων εν τη ερημω*	APΓΠW boh hcl arm aeth
none	2 om. *βαπτιζων*										
5. HM	*Ιουδαια χωρα*	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	—	2	*η Ιουδαια χωρα*	all others
arm	2 pagi Iudaeae										
ℵBLΔ 33 D lat boh arm syr[sin]	*παντες* post *Ιεροσολυμιται*	3	ς	2[2]	f	2	ς	2	f	*παντες* post *εβαπτιζοντο*	APΓΠW hcl
none	2 *παντες* ante *εβαπτιζοντο*										
minn pauc	3 om. *παντες*										
none	*εις τον Ιορδανην υπ αυτου*	2	ς	ς	f	f	2	3	3	*εν τω Ιορδανη ποταμω υπ αυτου*	APΓΔΠ a pesh hcl
DW	2 *εν τω Ιορδανη υπ αυτου*										
ℵBL 33 lat vg arm	3 ab eo in Iordane flumine										
6. ℵBL arm	*και ην ο Ιωαννης*	2	2	ς[3]	3	f	2	ς	f	*ην δε Ιωαννης*	AΔΠDW
PΓ	2 *ην δε ο Ιωαννης*										
none	3 *ο δε Ιωαννης ην*										

[1] Here and elsewhere it is, of course, not certain whether the Georgian version represents *Ησαια* or *τω Ησαια*. We have as a rule passed over this question without note.

[2] 69 reads with Θ.

[3] 69 reads with 2.

Mark	*Caesarean Text*	Θ	fam^{1}	fam^{13}	28	565	700	G^{1}	G^{2}	*Textus Receptus*	
i. 7. none	*οτι ερχεται*	ς	ς	ς	f	f	ς	f	2	*ερχεται*	all
none	2 ecce venit										
D a b c ff^{2} g^{1} Amb	om.	f	ς	ς	f	f	ς	ς	f	*κυψας*	ℵBCLΔAKΠW
8. ℵBL 33 b c ff^{1} g$^{1\cdot2}$ vg boh pesh arm	om.	f	ς	ς[4]	ς	f	ς	f	f	*μεν*	APΓΔΠDW a f ff^{2} hcl aeth
D	*υμας βαπτιζω*	ς	ς	2	ς	f	ς	3	3	*εβαπτισα υμας*	ℵBCLΔAKΠW
a	2 *υμας εβαπτισα*										
b c f ff^{1} g^{1}	3 baptizo vos										
none	om.	ς	ς	f	f	f	ς	ς	ς	*δε*	all
D a ff^{2}	*υμας βαπτισει*	f	ς	f	f	f	ς	ς	ς^{A}2^{B}	*βαπτισει υμας*	all others
ℵ b	2 om. *υμας*										
9. MΓΔD	*ο Ιησους*	f	ς	f	f	f	ς	—	—	*Ιησους*	ℵBALΠW
DWEFHKΠ c vg boh	*Ναζαρεθ*	f	f	f	ς	ς	ς	f	f	*Ναζαρετ*	ℵBLΓΔ 33 a b d f
ℵBL 33 D a b ff$^{1\cdot2}$	*εις τον Ιορδανην υπο Ιωαννου*	f	2	f	2	f	f	f	ς	*υπο Ιωαννου εις τον Ιορδανην*	APΓΔΠW c f vg hcl arm aeth
none	2 *εν τω Ιορδανη υπο Ιωαννου*										
10. ℵBL 33 DW arm	*εκ*	f	ς	f	f	f	ς	f	f	*απο*	APΓΔΠ
D	caelos apertos	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	f	*σχιζομενους τους ουρανους*	all others
arm	*πνευμα του θεου*	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	f	*πνευμα*	all others
ℵBALΓΔΠD hcl$^{mg\ gr}$	*ως περιστεραν καταβαινον*	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	2	2	*ωσει περιστεραν καταβαινον*	MPW al mu
arm	2 descendentem tamquam columbam										
BD a	*εις*	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	*επ*	ℵALPΓΔΠW
11. none	*εκ των ουρανων ηκουσθη*	f	ς	ς	f	f	ς	f	ς	*εγενετο εκ των ουρανων*	BALP lat vg boh pesh hcl
ℵBLPΔD a c ff^{2} g^{2} l vg boh pesh hcl arm aeth	*εν σοι*	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	*εν ω*	AΓΠW b d g
12. AEKMΠD	*ευθεως*	f	f	ς	ς	ς	f	—	—	*ευθυς*	ℵBFLHVΓW
Δ 33 D arm	*εκβαλλει αυτον*	f	ς	f[5]	ς	ς	ς	f	f	*αυτον εκβαλλει*	ℵBALW arm

[4] 69 and 124 read with f.

[5] 124 adds *το πνευμα*.

Mark	*Caesarean Text*	Θ	fam^{1}	fam^{13}	28	565	700	G^{1}	G^{2}	*Textus Receptus*	
i. 13. ΚΠ arm syr^{sin}	om. *εν τη ερημω*	2	f	2[6]	f	f	f	f	f	*εκει εν τη ερημω*	EFHMΓΔW pesh hcl arm
ℵBALD 33 lat vg boh aeth	2 om. *εκει*										
none	*επι ημερας τεσσαρακοντα*	ς	f	f	f	f	f	2	2	*ημερας τεσσαρακοντα*	ΑΓΔΠWc pesh hcl arm
ℵBLW 33 a b f ff^{1,2} g^{1,2} vg boh aeth	2 quadraginta dies										
LM 33 c ff^{1} l g^{1} vg boh hcl^{mg} aeth	add. *και τεσσαρακοντα νυκτας*	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	om.	all others
(D) d lat vg	et tentabatur	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	*πειραζομενος*	all others
none	*διαβολου*	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	f	*Σατανα*	all
14. BD a boh	*και μετα*	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	*μετα δε*	all others
AEFGH	om.	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	—	—	*τον*	ℵBKLMΔΠW
ΑΓΠW	om.	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	—	—	*ο*	ℵBLΔD
ℵBL b c ff^{2} boh arm hcl syr^{sin}	om.	f	f	ς[7]	f	f	ς	f	f	*της βασιλειας*	ΑΓΔΠDW a f ff^{1} g^{1,2} vg pesh aeth
15. syr^{sin}	om.	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	*οτι*	BAEFGHΓΔΠD W f ff^{2} g^{1} boh pesh
16. ℵBL 33 D lat vg boh arm hcl^{mg}	*και παραγων*	ς	ς	f	2	2	2	f	f	*περιπατων δε*	ΑΓΔΠW pesh hcl^{txt}
minn pauc	2 *παραγων δε*										
none	*ο Ιησους παρα*	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	ς^{AfB}	*παρα*	all
D	*τον Σιμωνα*	ς	ς	f	f	ς	ς	—	—	*Σιμωνα*	all others
ℵBLM a boh arm	*Σιμωνος*	ς	2	2	ς	f	f	f	ς	*αυτου*	GΓ 33 DW vg pesh aeth
ΑΔ	2 *του Σιμωνος*										
D a c f ff^{1} g^{1,2} l vg pesh syr^{sin} arm	*αμφιβαλλοντας τα δικτυα*	f	2	f	f	f	3	f	f	*βαλλοντας αμφιβληστρον*	ΓΠ
minn pauc	2 *αμφιβληστρα βαλλοντας*										

[6] 69 and 124 read with f.

[7] 69 reads with f.

Mark	*Caesarean Text*	Θ	fam^{1}	fam^{13}	28	565	700	G^{1}	G^{2}	*Textus Receptus*	
i. 16. none	3 *αμφιβληστρον βαλλοντας*										
K syr^{sin}	*εις την θαλασσαν*	ς	ς	f	f	f	ς	ς	ς	*εν τη θαλασση*	all others
17. b pesh aeth syr^{sin}	om.	ς	f	f	f	ς	f	ς	f	*γενεσθαι*	all others
18. ℵL 33	*ευθυς*	f	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	—	—	*ευθεως*	BACDW
ℵBCL ff^{1} g^{2} vg boh arm	om.	f	ς	f	f	f	f	f	ς	*αυτων*	AΓΔΠ f g^{1} pesh hcl aeth
19. BLDW a b ff^{2} g^{1} boh pesh syr^{sin}	om.	f	f	ς[8]	f	f	ς	f	f	*εκειθεν*	ACΓΔΠ c f ff^{1} g^{2} vg hcl arm aeth
20. ΔW c ff^{2} pesh arm	*και εκαλεσεν αυτους και ευθεως αφεντες*	f	ς	2[9]	3	4	f	2	f	*και ευθεως εκαλεσεν αυτους και αφεντες*	ACΓΠD
arm	2 *και ευθεως εκαλεσεν αυτους και ευθυς αφεντες*										
ℵBL	3 *και ευθυς εκαλεσεν αυτους και αφεντες*										
none	4 *και ευθυς αφεντες*										
D W lat vg boh	secuti sunt eum	2	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	2	f	*απηλθον οπισω αυτου*	all others
none	2 *ηλθον οπισω αυτου*										
21. minn pauc	*εισπορευεται*	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	*εισπορευονται*	all others
ℵBΔ 33 DW lat vg boh arm	*Καφαρναουμ*	f	ς	f	ς	f	f	f	f^{A}ς^{B}	*Καπερναουμ*	ACLΓΠ pesh hcl
ℵL 33	*ευθυς*	ς	f	ς	f	f	f	—	2	*ευθεως*	BACΓΔΠDW
aeth	2 om.										
ℵCLΔ boh pesh	om.	ς	ς	f	f	f	ς	f	ς	*εισελθων*	BAΓΠDW lat vg boh hcl arm aeth
ℵL	*εδιδασκεν εις την συναγωγην*	2	ς	f[10]	f	f	2	f	3	*εις την συναγωγην εδιδασκεν*	BAΓΠW
D lat vg hcl arm aeth	2 *εις την συναγωγην εδιδασκεν αυτους*										
Δ pesh arm	3 in synagogas eorum et docebat eos										

[8] 124 reads with f.

[9] 124 reads with f.

[10] 124 reads *εισελθων* after *εδιδασκε*, not before.

Mark	*Caesarean Text*	Θ	fam[1]	fam[13]	28	565	700	G[1]	G[2]	*Textus Receptus*	
i. 22. D b c d e	*ουχ*	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	*και ουχ*	all others
CMΔ 33 c f g[2] pesh hcl aeth	scribae illi eorum	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	f	*οι γραμματεις*	all others
23. ℵBL 33 boh	*ευθυς ην*	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	*ην*	ACΓΔΠDW lat vg pesh hcl arm aeth
24. ℵBDW lat vg boh pesh syr[sin] aeth	om.	f	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	2	ς[A]2[B]	*επ*	ACLΓΔΠ hcl arm
none	2 *sine nos*										
ℵLΔ boh arm aeth	*οιδαμεν*	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	*οιδα*	BACΓΠD lat vg pesh hcl
25. arm	om.	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	*και* (1°)	all others
W lat vg (D)	*απο του ανθρωπου*	f	ς	ς	ς	2[11]	2	2	2	*εξ αυτου*	ℵBACΓΠEFKM
HL 33	2 *απ αυτου*										
(D)W b c ff[2] g[1.2] aeth	add. *το πνευμα το ακαθαρτον*	f	ς	ς	ς	ς[12]	ς	ς	ς	om.	all others
26. CMΔ 33 DW	*απο*	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	f	*εξ*	ℵBALΓΠ arm
27. ACΓΔΠD	*προς εαυτους*	f	f	f	f	ς	f	—	—	*προς αυτους*	GLSW
ACEMW 33	*λεγοντες*	f	ς	ς[13]	ς	ς	ς	—	—	*λεγοντας*	ℵBDFGHK
boh arm aeth	*διδαχη καινη αυτη*	f	f	4	3	f[14]	2	f	f	*τις η διδαχη η καινη αυτη*	CΓΔΠW vg pesh hcl
none	2 *καινη διδαχη*										
none	3 *τις διδαχη καινη*										
minn pauc	4 *τις η διδαχη αυτη*										
ℵBL 33 pesh	om.	ς	f	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	*οτι*	ACΓΔΠD
g[1]	om.	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς[A]f[B]	*και* (2°)	ℵBLACΓΔΠ
28. ℵBCLMΔ 33 DW pesh aeth boh	*και εξηλθε*	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	f	f	*εξηλθε δε*	AΓΠ f hcl arm
ℵ b c e ff[2] q boh arm aeth	*εις ολην*	f	f	2	f	f	f	f	f	*ευθυς εις ολην*	AΓΔΠD g[1.2] f vg pesh hcl arm
BCL	2 *ευθυς πανταχου εις ολην*										

[11] Family reading added in margin.
[12] Family reading added in margin.
[13] 346 reads with f.
[14] Reading of Textus Receptus added in margin.

Mark	*Caesarean Text*	Θ	fam^{1}	fam^{13}	28	565	700	G^{1}	G^{2}	*Textus Receptus*	
i. 29. ℵBLΔ	*ευθυς*	ς	f	f	f	f	ς	3	2	*ευθεως*	ACΓΠ
DW c e ff^{2} g^{1} pesh syr^{sin} aeth	2 om.										
	3 erased										
B f g^{1} hcl^{mg} arm aeth	*εκ της συναγωγης εξελθων ηλθεν*	2	f	f	ς	f	f	5	4^{A}3^{B}	*εκ της συναγωγης εξελθοντες ηλθον*	ℵACLΓΔΠ boh pesh hcl
W arm (D lat)	2 *εξελθων εκ της συναγωγης ηλθεν*										
ff^{1} l m t tol	3 e synagoga exiit et venerunt										
syr^{sin}	4 et exiens e synagoga venerunt										
none	5 exierunt abhinc e synagoga et venerunt										
30. LMΔ	*του Σιμωνος*	ς	f	f	ς	f	f	—	—	*Σιμωνος*	ℵBAΓΠWEFGD
ℵBL 33 D	*ευθυς*	ς	ς	f	f	ς	ς	—	2	*ευθεως*	ACΓΔΠ
W b c ff^{2} g^{1} q pesh syr^{sin} aeth	2 om.										
31. D c f ff^{2} g$^{1.2}$ vg pesh syr^{sin}	*ευθυς αφηκεν*	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς^{A}f^{B}	*αφηκεν*	all others
ℵBCLW 33 e boh arm	om.	f	f	ς	f	f	f	f	f	*ευθεως*	AΓΔΠ hcl aeth
hcl syr^{sin} aeth	surrexit et ministrabat	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	*διηκονει*	all others
W	*αυτω*	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς^{A}f^{B}	*αυτοις*	all others
32. BD	*οτε εδυσεν*	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	f	2	*οτε εδυ*	ℵACLΓΔΠW
none	2 *και εδυ*										
none	*εφερον παντες*	ς	ς	f	f	f	ς	ς	ς	*εφερον*	all
33. W	*η πολις ολη συνηγμενη ην*	5	ς	3	f	2	f	4	4	*η πολις ολη επισυνηγμενη ην*	AΔΠ boh pesh hcl arm aeth
none	2 *η πολις ολη ην συνηγμενη ην*										
none	3 *η πολις ολη ην συνηγμενη*										
none	4 omnis illa civitas congregata erat										

Mark	*Caesarean Text*	Θ	fam^{1}	fam^{13}	28	565	700	G^{1}	G^{2}	*Textus Receptus*	
i. **33.** ℵBCLD 33 b e l g vg boh arm	5 *ην ολη η πολις επισυνηγ-μενη*										
W	*τας θυρας*	ς	ς	ς^{15}	f	f	f	f	f	*την θυραν*	all others
34. (D) lat syr^{sin}	*αυτα λαλειν*	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	*λαλειν τα δαιμονια*	all others
BLW 33 ff^{1} g^{1} l boh arm hcl aeth	*αυτον χριστον ειναι*	f	f	2	f	f	2	f	f	*αυτον*	ℵAEFKΓΔΠD a b c e f vg pesh
CGM	2 *αυτον τον χριστον ειναι*										
35. ℵBCLWD 33	*εννυχα*	f	f	ς	f	ς	ς	—	—	*εννυχον*	AΓΔΠ
B ff^{2} g^{1} boh	*εξηλθε*	ς	ς	ς	f	f	ς	2	3	*εξηλθε και απηλθε*	
none	2 egressus est et venit										
c	3 et egressus est illinc et abiit										
36. ℵBMU ff^{1} g^{2} vg boh	*κατεδιωξεν*	f	ς	ς	f	f	f	f	ς	*κατεδιωξαν*	ACLΓΔΠWD a b c e f ff^{2} g^{1} pesh hcl
KΠ	*ο τε Σιμων*	f	f	f	f	f	ς	ς	ς	*ο Σιμων*	ACΓΔ
37. AΓΠW	*σε ζητουσι*	ς	ς^{16}	f^{17}	ς	f	ς	ς	ς^{A2B}	*ζητουσι σε*	ℵBCLΔ 33 D
none	2 quaerimus te										
38. syr^{sin}	*λεγει*	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	2	3	*και λεγει*	all others
none	2 et dixit										
D g^{2}	3 Jesus autem dixit										
syr^{sin}	venite et eamus circum	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	2	*αγωμεν*	all others
W	2 abeamus et eamus										
ΔW lat vg boh arm pesb hcl^{mg}	*ελθωμεν*	2	ς	f	f	f	ς	f	f	*εξελθωμεν*	AΓΠD
ℵBCL 33	2 *εξελθον*										
39. ℵBL boh aeth	*ηλθεν*	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	*ην*	ACΓΔΠWD lat vg pesh hcl arm
ℵBACKLΔΠWD	*εις τας συναγωγας*	f	f	f	f	f	ς	2	2	*εν ταις συναγωγαις*	EFGMSUVΓ
none	2 in synagoga										

[15] 124 reads with f. [16] 131 reads with f. [17] 69 om. *σε*.

Mark	*Caesarean Text*	Θ	fam^{1}	fam^{13}	28	565	700	G^{1}	G^{2}	*Textus Receptus*	
i. 40. ℵL arm	om.	f	f	ς^{18}	ς	f	ς	f	ς	αυτον (3°)	ACΔΠ hcl boh arm aeth
DW lat	λεγων	ς	ς	ς	2	ς	f	f	f	λεγων αυτω	all others
none	2 λεγων αυτον										
CLW c e ff^{2} g^{1} boh arm aeth	κυριε	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	f	οτι	ℵAΓΔΠ a hcl
d e	θελησης	ς	ς	ς^{19}	2	f	ς	ς	ς	θελης	all others
090 (ol. Θ^{f})	2 θελης κυριε										
41. D lat vg	χειρα αυτου	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς^{A}f^{B}	χειρα	all others
W	λεγων	ς	ς	f^{20}	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	και λεγει	all others
ℵ c ff^{2} pesh	om.	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	f	αυτω	BACLΓΔΠWD lat vg hcl boh
42. ℵBLWD a b c e ff^{2} g^{1} boh pesh	om.	ς	ς	ς^{21}	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	ειποντος αυτου	ACΓΔΠ f g^{2} l q vg hcl arm aeth
ℵBL 33	ευθυς	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	—	—	ευθεως	ACΓΔΠ
AKΠ hcl	η λεπρα απ αυτου	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	ς^{A}2^{B}	απ αυτου η λεπρα	ℵBEFGLUVΓW D lat vg boh pesh arm
none	2 a lepra illa post εκαθαρισθη										
43. pesh arm aeth	om.	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς^{A}f^{B}	ευθεως	ACΓΔΠ
44. none	ειπων	ς	ς	ς	2	f	f	ς	ς	και λεγει	all
none	2 και ειπεν										
ℵALΔWD 33 lat vg pesh boh aeth	om.	ς	ς	f	ς	f	f	f	f	μηδεν	BCEGKSUΓΠ hcl arm
WD lat vg arm	et ostende temet ipsum	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	f	σεαυτον δειξον	all others
ff^{1} l vg	αρχιερει	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ιερει	all others
W	α	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	f	α	all others
45. ℵ arm	δυνασθαι αυτον	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	f	2	αυτον δυνασθαι	BACLΓΔΠ
D	2 potuit										

[18] 124 om. και γονυπετων αυτον. [19] 124 reads with 28. [20] 346 reads και λεγων. [21] 69 reads with f.

Mark	*Caesarean Text*	Θ	fam^{1}	fam^{13}	28	565	700	W	G^{1}	G^{2}	*Textus Receptus*	
i. 45. ℵCL 33 boh	εις πολιν φανερως	ς	ς	ς[22]	f	f	ς	—	f	ς	φανερως εις πολιν	BAΓΔΠW lat hcl arm
ℵBLΔW	επ ερημοις	ς	ς	ς[23]	f	f	ς	—	ς	ς	εν ερημοις	ACΓΠD
ℵBACKLΠWD 33	παντοθεν	f	f	ς	f	f	ς	—	—	—	πανταχοθεν	EGUVΓ
vi. 1. ℵBCLΔ hcl^{mg}	εκειθεν και ερχεται	f	ς	ς[24]	ς	ς	ς	2	ς	ς	εκειθεν και ηλθεν	AΠ hcl arm
none	2 om.											
2. (ℵBCLΔ 33 D f ff^{2} boh pesh hcl arm)	διδασκειν εν ταις συναγωγαις	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	2	εν τη συναγωγη διδασκειν	AΠ a b c e g$^{1.2}$ q vg
none	2 in synagoga docere eos											
BL	οι πολλοι	ς	ς	f	f	ς	ς	ς	—	—	πολλοι	ℵACΔΠD
FHLΔΠD	ακουσαντες	f	ς	f	f	f	ς	ς	f	f	ακουοντες	ℵBAC
D lat vg hcl arm	εξεπλησσοντο επι τη διδαχη αυτου	f	ς	ς	ς	f	f	ς	f	ς	εξεπλησσοντο	all others
pauc	ινα	f	2	2[25]	2	2	f	2	2	2^{A}3^{B}	οτι και	minn f
ℵBALΔEFGHM a e	2 και											
none	3 an											
3. lat arm aeth 33	ο του τεκτονος υιος και Μαριας	3	ς	2[26]	4	5	f	3	ς	f	ο τεκτων ο υιος Μαριας	AΠD
none	2 ο του τεκτονος ο υιος και της Μαριας											
ℵBCLΔ	3 ο τεκτων ο υιος της Μαριας											
none	4 ο τεκτων ο υιος Μαριαμ											
e	5 ο του τεκτονος υιος Μαριας											
a b c f g$^{1.2}$ i vg boh arm	ο αδελφος	f	ς	ς	ς	f	f	ς	2	f	αδελφος δε	AΠ q hcl
ℵLD (c boh pesh)	2 και ο αδελφος											
BLΔ 33 D a boh	Ιωσητος	f	ς	f	ς	f	f	ς	ς	2	Ιωση	ACΠ pesh hcl arm
ℵ b e f g$^{1.2}$ q vg aeth	2 Iosebi											

[22] 124 reads with **f**.
[23] 124 reads with **f**.
[24] 13 om. *και ηλθεν*.
[25] 124 and 346 read *ινα και*.
[26] 124 reads with Θ W; 69 reads *ο τεκτονος υιος και Μαριας*.

Mark	*Caesarean Text*	Θ	fam^{1}	fam^{13}	28	565	700	W	G^{1}	G^{2}	*Textus Receptus*	
vi. 4.	ℵBCLΔ 33 D lat vg boh arm pesh	και ελεγεν	f	ς	ς	ς	f	f	ς	ς	ς	ελεγεν δε	AΠ c hcl arm aeth
	none	om.	ς	f	f	f	ς	ς	f	f	f	αυτοις	all
	SΔ pesh arm aeth	om.	f	ς	f	ς	f	f	ς	f	f	οτι	all others
	none	*τη εαυτου*	f	ς	2	ς	f	ς	ς	f	f	*αυτου* (1°)	all others
	ℵL	2 *εαυτου*											
	BCKL b d f g$^{1.2}$ boh pesh hcl aeth	*συγγενευσι αυτου*	2	2	2	f	ς	ς	ς	f	f	*συγγενεσι*	ASΠD
	EFGHUV 33	2 *συγγενευσι*											
	e	om.	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς^{AfB}	*και εν τη οικια αυτου*	all others
5.	BAΩCKLMΠ	*εδυνατο*	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	f	—	2	*ηδυνατο*	ℵEFGHVΔD
	none	2 om.											
	D a	*εκει ουδεμιαν ποιησαι δυναμιν*	5	2	ς^{27}	ς	f	f	3	4	5	*εκει ουδεμιαν δυναμιν ποιησαι*	AΠ f vg
	ℵBCLΔ	2 *εκει ποιησαι ουδεμιαν δυναμιν*											
	none	3 *ουκετι ποιησαι δυναμιν*											
	none	4 quicquid potestatis facere											
	none	5 *εκει ποιησαι δυναμιν*											
6.	ℵB	*εθαυμασεν*	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	*εθαυμαζεν*	ACLΠD
	none	*περιηγεν ο Ιησους*	ς	ς	f	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς^{AfB}	*περιηγεν*	all
	L arm	*κυκλω κωμας*	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	f	*κωμας κυκλω*	all others
7.	D a b c ff^{2} i q	*προσκαλεσαμενος*	ς	f	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	f	f	*προσκαλειται . . . και*	all others
	D a b c e ff^{2} i syr^{sin}	om.	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	*ηρξατο*	all others
	D a b c e ff^{2} i	*απεστειλεν αυτους*	ς	2	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	*αυτους αποστελλειν*	all others
	arm	2 *αποστελλειν αυτους*											
	D	*ανα δυο*	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	*δυο δυο*	all others
	D (a b) c e ff^{2}	*δους*	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	2	2	ς	*και εδιδου*	all others
	none	2 *και εδωκεν*											
	C Δ 33	*πνευματων ακαθαρτων*	ς	ς	f	f	ς	ς	ς	—	—	*των πνευματων των ακαθαρτων*	all others

[27] 124 reads with f.

Mark	*Caesarean Text*	Θ	fam^{1}	fam^{13}	28	565	700	W	G^{1}	G^{2}	*Textus Receptus*	
vi. 8. ℵCLΔ	αρωσιν	f	ς	f	ς	f	ς	f	2	ς	αιρωσιν	BAΠDEFGH
	2 acceperunt illi secum											
(D) lat	μητε ραβδον, μητε πηραν, μητε αρτον, μητε	2	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	f	f	ει μη ραβδον μονον μη πηραν, μη αρτον, μη	all others
none	2 μητε ραβδον, μητε αρτον, μητε πηραν, μητε											
9. none	μηδε	2	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	3	αλλα	all
none	2 μητε											
none	3 et											
10. ALΔD	αν	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	f	—	—	εαν	ℵBCKΠEFGH
none	εκειθεν εξελθητε	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	εξελθητε εκειθεν	all others
11. ℵBLΔ boh hcl^{mg} aeth	os	ς	f	f	f	ς	ς	f	f	ς	οσοι	AΠD lat vg pesh hcl^{txt} arm
ℵBLΔ boh hcl^{mg} aeth	αν τοπος	2	ς	f	f	ς	3	f	f	ς	αν	EFGMUVC
none	2 om.											
AHKΠD	3 εαν											
ℵBLΔ boh hcl^{mg} aeth syr^{sin}	δεξηται	ς	f	f	f	ς	ς	f	f	ς	δεξωνται	AΠD arm lat vg pesh hcl^{txt}
syr^{sin}	ακουση	ς	f	ς	f	ς	ς	f	f	ς	ακουσωσιν	all others
hcl	τους λογους υμων	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	υμων	all others
33 D lat vg arm aeth syr^{sin}	om.	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	f	ς	ς	f	τον υποκατω	all others
ℵBCLΔD syr^{sin} arm lat vg	om.	f	ς	ς	f	f	ς	f	f	f	αμην λεγω . . . πολει εκεινη	AΠ al pler a f g^{2} q boh pesh hcl aeth
12. BLD boh	μετανοωσιν	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	μετανοησωσι	ℵACΔΠ
13. CMΔD 33	εξεβαλον	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	2	ς	f	εξεβαλλον	ℵBAL lat vg pesh hcl
none	2 εξεπεμπον											
M arm	εθεραπευον αυτους	f	ς	f	f	f	f	f	ς	ς	εθεραπευον	all others
14. FD a b c f i q pesh syr^{sin} arm aeth	Ηρωδης ο βασιλευς	ς	ς	2	ς	f	f	ς	ς	f	ο βασιλευς Ηρωδης	ℵBACLΔΠ ff^{2} g^{2} vg boh hcl arm

Mark	*Caesarean Text*	Θ	fam^{1}	fam^{13}	28	565	700	W	G^{1}	G^{2}	*Textus Receptus*	
vi. 14. M minn	2 add. *την ακοην Ιησου*											
BD a b ff^{2}	*και ελεγον*	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ς^{A}2^{B}	*και ελεγεν*	ℵACLΔΠ c f g^{1} i vg boh arm pesh hcl aeth
none	2 om.											
SD 33 a b c f i q vg syr^{sin}	*βαπτιστης*	f	ς	f	f	ς	f	f	—	—	*βαπτιζων*	all others
ℵBLΔD 33 lat vg boh pesh syr^{sin} arm aeth	*εγηγερται εκ νεκρων*	2	ς	ς	ς	f	f	ς	ς	ς	*εκ νεκρων ηγερθη*	codd pler
c arm	2 *ηγερθη εκ νεκρων*											
KΔΠ 33 a ff^{2} vg pesh hcl arm	*αι δυναμεις ενεργουσιν*	f	ς	ς^{28}	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	*ενεργουσιν αι δυναμεις*	all others
15. ℵBACEHΔΠD lat vg boh	*αλλοι δε*	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	2^{A}3^{B}	*αλλοι* (1°)	FMUV arm
none	2 quidam											
none	3 om.											
G 33	om.	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς^{A}f^{B}	*ελεγον οτι Ηλιας εστιν*	all others
ℵ arm a b c ff^{2} pesh	om.	f	f	ς	f	f	f	ς	ς	ς	*ελεγον* (2°)	all others
ℵBCLΔ 33	om.	f	f	ς	f	f	ς	f	ς	ς	*εστιν* (2°)	AΠ al pler a f g^{1} q vg boh pesh hcl arm aeth
ℵBACLΠ f g^{1} l q vg boh pesh syr^{sin} aeth	*ως*	f	ς	f	ς	f	ς	f	f	ς	*η ως*	Δ minn pauc hcl arm
16. CKUVD	*Ηρωδης*	ς	ς	f	f	f	ς	ς	—	—	*ο Ηρωδης*	ℵBAEFGHΔΠ
ℵBCLΔ 33 arm	*ελεγεν*	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	*ειπεν*	AΠD al fere omn a c ff^{2} pesh hcl
ℵBLD 33 lat vg pesh hcl arm aeth	om.	f	f	ς^{29}	f	f	f	ς	ς	ς	*οτι*	ACΔΠ boh
a b i q boh	*ουτος εστιν Ιωαννης*	f	f	ς^{30}	2	f	f	2	2	2	*Ιωαννην ουτος εστιν*	ACΠ lat hcl arm
ℵBLΔ	2 *Ιωαννην ουτος*											

[28] 13 reads with f. [29] 124 reads with f. [30] 69 reads with 28 W Grg.

Mark	*Caesarean Text*	Θ	fam^{1}	fam^{13}	28	565	700	W	G^{1}	G^{2}	*Textus Receptus*	
vi. 16. ℵBLΔ	om.	ς	ς	f	f	ς	ς	f	f	f	*αυτος*	ACΠ l
D	*εκ νεκρων ηγερθη*	f	ς	f	f	f	f	2	2	2	*ηγερθη εκ νεκρων*	AΠKEFGHM
ℵBLΔ 33 boh	2 *ηγερθη*											
17. D	Ηρωδης	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	f	—	—	ο Ηρωδης	all others
D a b f ff^{2} i pesh arm minn	*και εβαλεν εις φυλακην*	f	ς	f	f	2	f	ς	ς	f	*εν τη φυλακη*	all others
	2 *και εβαλεν εις την φυλακην*											
D a c f g^{1}	*εγαμησεν αυτην*	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	*αυτην εγαμησεν*	all others
18. D minn pauc	Ιωαννης	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	—	—	ο Ιωαννης	all others
D c f ff^{2} g^{1} i vg aeth	om.	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	*οτι*	all others
none	*την γυναικα εχειν του αδελφου σου*	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	2	3	3	*εχειν την γυναικα του αδελφου σου*	all
none	2 *γυναικα εχειν του αδελφου σου*											
none	3 fratris uxorem habens											
19. DU a c i q vg arm	*αποκτειναι αυτον*	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	f	ς	f	f	*αυτον αποκτειναι*	all others
AKΔΠ	*εδυνατο*	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	—	—	*ηδυνατο*	ℵBCLD
20. minn	*ακουων*	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	*ακουσας*	all others
none	*πολλα α*	ς	ς	f	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	*πολλα*	all
ℵBL boh	*ηπορει*	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	2	ς	ς	*εποιει*	ACΔΠD vg pesh hcl
none	2 *ηπορειτο*											
21. (D) a b c ff^{2}	*γενομενης δε*	f	ς	ς	ς	f	f	ς	ς	ς	*και γενομενης*	all others
ℵBCLΔD	*εποιησεν*	f	ς	f	f	ς	ς	f	ς	f^{A}ς^{B}	*εποιει*	AΠ
D a b f q vg	om.	ς	f	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	f	ς	*αυτου* (2°)	all others
22. D a c ff^{2}	*εισελθουσης δε*	ς	ς	ς	f	2	ς	ς	ς	ς	*και εισελθουσης*	all others
none	2 *εισελθουσης*											
b c f pesh boh arm aeth syr^{sin}	om.	ς	f	ς	ς	2	ς	ς	f	f	*αυτης*	ACΓΠ lat vg hcl
ℵBLΔD	2 *αυτου*											
none	om.	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	f	—	—	*της*	all
ℵBCL 33 c ff^{2} boh arm	placuit	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	f	*αρεσασης*	AΓΠD a b f i q vg pesh hcl aeth

Mark	*Caesarean Text*	Θ	fam^{1}	fam^{13}	28	565	700	W	G^{1}	G^{2}	*Textus Receptus*	
vi. 22. ℵ	αιτησαι	f	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	f	ς	ς	αιτησον	all others
D	om.	ς	f	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	εαν	all others
23. Γ syr^{sin}	om.	ς	f	ς	2	ς	ς	f	ς	f	και ωμοσεν . . . δωσω σοι	all others
none	2 ωμωσας (sic) . . . δωσω σοι											
D lat arm	αυτη πολλα	f	—	ς	2	f	f	—	ς	—	αυτη	all others
none	2 πολλα											
none	αν	ς	—	ς[31]	ς	f	ς	—	—	—	εαν	all
H L b c l q vg boh	om.	ς	—	f	ς	ς	ς	—	ς	—	με	all others
(D) a q i vg	καν το ημισυ	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	2	—	—	εως ημισους	all others
LΔ	2 εως ημισυ											
none	om.	ς	2	ς	ς	f	ς	f	ς	ς	μου	all others
syr^{sin}	2 add. και ωμοσεν αυτη											
24. ℵBLΔ 33 boh aeth arm	και	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	η δε	ACΓΠD a b f pesh hcl
ℵBACGLΔD 33	αιτησωμαι	f	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	f	—	—	αιτησομαι	EFHKΓΠ
syr^{sin}	ειπεν αυτη	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	2	f	2	ειπε (2°)	all others
none	2 ειπεν αιτησαι											
ℵBLΔ	βαπτιζοντος	f	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	—	—	βαπτιστου	ACΓΠD
25. ℵBCΔ	ευθυς	f	2	ς	f	f	f	f	—	2	ευθεως	AΓΠ
DL lat boh	2 om.											
q (ff^{2})	ειπεν εξ αυτης	f	2	ς	2	f	ς	3	2	2	ητησατο	all others
DΔ pesh arm syr^{sin}	2 ειπε											
none	3 om.											
DΔ pesh syr^{sin} arm	om.	f	f	ς	f	f	ς	f	f	f	λεγουσα	all others
D lat	δος μοι	f	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	4	2	3	θελω ινα μοι δως εξ αυτης	AΓΠ al fere omn arm
none	2 protinus volo ut des mihi											
none	3 volo ut protinus des											
none	4 θελω ινα μοι δωσης											
L	βαπτιζοντος	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	—	—	βαπτιστου	all others

[31] 69 reads with f.

Mark	*Caesarean Text*	Θ	fam[1]	fam[13]	28	565	700	W	G[1]	G[2]	*Textus Receptus*	
vi. 26. Π	*ηθελεν αυτην αθετησαι*	2	f	ς[32]	ς	ς	ς	ς	3	ς	*ηθελησεν αυτην αθετησαι*	AΓΠD lat vg
ℵBCΔ	2 *ηθελησεν αθετησαι αυτη* (sic)											
arm	3 decepit illam											
27. D a c ff[2] g[1] vg pesh	*αλλα*	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	f	ς	ς	ς	*και*	all others
ℵBCLΔ	*ευθυς*	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	—	—	*ευθεως*	AΓΠD
D lat vg syr[sin]	om.	ς	f	ς	f	f	f	f	ς	f	*ο βασιλευς*	all others
CΔ c g[1] vg	*αυτου επι πινακι*	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	*αυτου*	all others
28. BCLΔ a b c f ff[2] i q boh arm pesh aeth	*και*	ς	f	ς[33]	f	ς	ς	f	f	f	*ο δε*	AΓΠD hcl arm
LΔ b c q pesh arm	om.	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	f	f	*αυτην* (1°)	all others
D 33 a c ff[2] i vg pesh arm aeth	om.	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	f	*αυτην* (2°)	all others
29. none	*οι δε μαθηται αυτου ακουσαντες*	ς	ς	ς	ς	2	f	ς	ς	ς	*και ακουσαντες οι μαθηται αυτου*	all
none	2 *οι δε μαθηται αυτου*											
BL 33	*ηλθαν*	f	ς	ς[34]	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	*ηλθον*	ℵACΓΔΠDEFGH
none	*κηδευσαι*	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	*και ηραν*	all
EFUΓ	*αυτω*	ς	ς	ς[35]	f	f	f	2	3	3	*αυτο*	BACLΓΔΠEFGH
ℵ	2 *αυτον*											
none	3 om.											
ℵBACΓΔΠ	om.	f	ς	f	f	f	f	f	—	—	*τω*	D al pauc
30. ℵBCLΔD 33 lat vg boh arm pesh aeth	om.	f	f	ς	f	f	ς	ς	f	f	*και* (3°)	AΓΠ hcl
Δ syr[sin]	*εποιησεν*	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	*εποιησαν*	all others
ℵC lat vg	om.	ς	f	ς	ς	f	ς	f	f	ς[AfB]	*οσα* (2°)	all others
syr[sin]	*εδιδασκεν*	ς	ς	ς	2	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	*εδιδαξαν*	all others
none	2 *εδιδασκον*											
31. ℵBCLΔ 33 d lat vg arm	*λεγει*	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	*ειπεν*	AΓΠD a
D a b c i q	*αυτοις ο Ιησους*	f	ς	f	f	f	f	ς	ς	f	*αυτοις*	all others
b f l q vg boh arm	om.	f	f	ς	f	f	f	f	f	f	*αυτοι*	ℵABCΓΔΠKEF

[32] 69 om. *αυτην*. [33] 124 reads with f. [34] 346 reads *ηλθεν*. [35] 69 reads with f; 346 reads with W.

Mark	*Caesarean Text*	Θ	fam^{1}	fam^{13}	28	565	700	W	G^{1}	G^{2}	*Textus Receptus*	
vi. 31.	BACMΔ *αναπαυσασθε*	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	*αναπανεσθε*	all others
	ℵBAEFGHLΓΔ *ευκαιρουν*	f	ς	f	ς	ς	f	f	—	—	*ηυκαιρουν*	CKSMUΠ
32.	EFGHVΓ *απηλθεν*	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	*απηλθον*	ℵBAKΔΠD boh pesh hcl
	BLΔ boh arm *εν τω πλοιω εις ερημον τοπον*	f	ς	f	ς	2	2	ς	ς	ς	*εις ερημον τοπον τω πλοιω*	all others
	pauc 2 *εις ερημον τοπον εν πλοιω*											
33.	none *αυτον*	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	f	ς	f	*αυτους*	all
	none *υπαγοντα*	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	2	ς	f	*υπαγοντας*	all
	none 2 *υπαγοντες*											
	ℵBALΓΔΠD lat vg boh hcl arm aeth syr^{sin} om.	f	f	ς	f	f	f	ς	f	2	*οι οχλοι*	minn pauc
	none 2 populus											
	BD *εγνωσαν*	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	*επεγνωσαν*	ℵALΔΓΠ
	BD a i l vg om.	f	f	ς	f	ς	f	f	2	f	*αυτον* (1°)	EFGHSVΓ
	ℵAΔΠ syr^{sin} 2 *αυτους*											
	none *εδραμον*	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	f	ς	f	ς	*συνεδραμον*	all
	D b c ff^{2} i arm om.	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	f	f	f	f	*και προηλθον αυτους*	ℵBLΔAΓΠ f q hcl aeth
	none *ηλθον*	2	f	3[36]	—	f	—	—	—	—	*προηλθον*	ℵBAΠ
	LΔ 2 *προσηλθον*											
	none 3 *προσηλθεν*											
	Δ *αυτοις*	f	2	ς[37]	—	3	—	—	—	—	*αυτους*	ℵBALΓΠ
	none 2 om.											
	none 3 *αυτου*											
	ℵBLΔ boh arm om.	f	f	2[38]	ς	f	ς	f	ς	ς	*και συνηλθον*	DAΓΠEFGH
	none 2 *και συνεισηλθον*											
	none om.	f	f	ς[39]	2	f	2	f	ς	ς	*προς αυτον*	AΓΠ
	none 2 *αυτω*											

[36] 69 reads with Θ. [37] 69 reads *αυτω*. [38] 13 reads with f. [39] 13 reads with f; 124 and 346 read *προς αυτους*.

Mark	*Caesarean Text*	Θ	fam^{1}	fam^{13}	28	565	700	W	G^{1}	G^{2}	*Textus Receptus*	
vi. 34. D q	*και ιδων*	ς	ς	ς	ς	2	f	ς	ς	ς	*ειδεν*	ℵBAEFGHKΠ
none	2 *ιδων*											
ℵBL boh arm syr^{sin}	om.	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	2	*ο Ιησους*	EFGHKMΔ
AUΠ c f i pesh aeth	2 ante *ειδεν*											
33 a f ff^{2} vg arm	*οχλον πολυν*	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	f	*πολυν οχλον*	all others
none	om.	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	f	ς	ς	ς	*και* (2°)	all
none	*ηρξαντο*	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	*ηρξατο*	all
AKΓΠ	*αυτους διδασκειν*	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	*διδασκειν αυτους*	all others
syr^{sin}	om.	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	*πολλα*	all others
35. D	*ηδη δε*	f	ς	ς	ς	f	f	ς	ς	ς	*και ηδη*	all others
arm	*πολλης ωρας*	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	f	*ωρας πολλης*	all others
ℵAKΠD a i ff^{2} vg arm aeth	om.	f	ς	ς	ς	f	f	ς	ς	ς	*αυτω*	BΓΔ c q boh pesh hcl
c arm	om.	ς	f	2	ς	ς	ς	f	f	ς	*αυτου*	all others
A	2 *αυτω*											
KΠD b g	*λεγουσιν αυτω*	2	ς	ς	ς	f	f	ς	ς	2	*λεγουσιν*	Γ al pler
ℵBLΔ 33 boh	2 *ελεγον*											
none	*ηδη ωρα παρηλθεν*	ς	3	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	f	2	*ηδη ωρα πολλη*	all
none	2 multa hora											
none	3 *η ωρα ηδη πολλη*											
36. syr^{sin} arm	*απολυσον ουν τους οχλους*	f	ς	ς	2	2	2	ς	ς	f	*απολυσον αυτους*	all others
none	2 *απολυσον ουν αυτους*											
D lat vg	*εγγιστα*	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	*κυκλω*	all others
syr^{sin}	*κωμας*	ς	2	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς^{AfB}	*αγρους και κωμας*	all others
none	2 *κωμας και αγρους*											
BLΔ syr^{sin}	*αγορασωσιν εαυτοις*	3	4	ς	f	2	ς	f	ς	ς	*αγορασωσιν εαυτοις αρτους*	AΓΠ etc
none	2 *αρτους αγορασωσιν εαυτοις*											
ℵ lat	3 *αγορασωσιν εαυτοις βρωματα*											
none	4 *καταλυσωσι*											
ℵBLΔD lat syr^{sin}	om.	f	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	f	f	f	*γαρ*	all others
D arm	*φαγειν*	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	*φαγωσιν*	all others
ℵBLΔD lat syr^{sin}	om.	f	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	f	f	f	*ουκ εχουσιν*	all others

Mark	*Caesarean Text*	Θ	fam^{1}	fam^{13}	28	565	700	W	G^{1}	G^{2}	*Textus Receptus*	
vi. 37. AL 33	om.	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	*αυτοις* (1°)	all others
none	om.	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς^{AfB}	*αυτω*	all
L	*αγορασομεν*	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	f	f	*αγορασωμεν*	all others
ℵBALΔΠ	*δηναριων διακοσιων*	ς	f	f	f	ς	ς	2	ς	ς	*διακοσιων δηναριων*	MΓD
syr^{sin}	2 *δηναριων εκατον*											
ℵBD 33	*δωσωμεν*	ς	ς	f	f	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	*δωμεν*	all others
none	*ινα φαγωσιν*	ς	ς	2	ς	f	f	2	ς	f	*φαγειν*	all
none	2 add. *ινα εκαστος αυτων βραχυ τι λαβη*											
38. BLΔ aeth	*εχετε αρτους*	f	ς	ς^{40}	2	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	*αρτους εχετε*	all others
none	2 *αρτους εχετε υμεις*											
ℵBDL 33 boh pesh syr^{sin} aeth lat	om.	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	*και* (1°)	all others
DA a b f ff^{2} arm syr^{sin} aeth	*λεγουσιν αυτω*	f	ς	f	ς	f	f	ς	ς	ς	*λεγουσι*	all others
D a c f ff^{2} i q pesh boh syr^{sin}	*πεντε αρτους*	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	f	f	*πεντε*	all others
39. none	*παντας ανακλιθηναι*	f	2	2	2	f	3	ς	ς	4^{A}3^{B}	*ανακλιναι παντας*	ALΓΔΠD
ℵBG	2 *ανακλιθηναι παντας*											
none	3 *ανακλιθηναι*											
none	4 sederent eos											
L	*συμποσια*	f	ς	ς^{41}	ς	f	ς	f	ς	ς	*συμποσια συμποσια*	all others
40. ℵBEFGHMVΔ	*ανεπεσαν*	f	f	ς	f	ς	f	f	ς	ς	*ανεπεσον*	AKLSΓΠD
41. LΔ	*ηυλογησεν*	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	*ευλογησε*	all others
(D b c)	*τους πεντε*	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	*τους* (3°)	all others
ℵBLMΔΠ	*παρατιθωσιν*	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	*παραθωσιν*	AΓD
43. FU	add. *το περισσευσαν των*	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	*ηραν*	all others
BLΔ	*κλασματα*	ς	2	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	*κλασματων*	all others
none	2 om.											
ℵB	*κοφινων*	ς	f	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	*κοφινους*	AΓΠLΔD

[40] 124 reads with 28.

[41] 69 reads with f.

Mark	*Caesarean Text*	Θ	fam^{1}	fam^{13}	28	565	700	W	G^{1}	G^{2}	*Textus Receptus*	
vi. 43. ℵBLΔ	πληρωματα	ς	f	f	ς	ς	ς	f	2	ς	πληρεις	AΓΠD
b c d q	2 om.											
44. ℵD lat vg arm syr^{sin}	om.	f	f	ς	f	f	f	f	ς	ς	τους αρτους	all others
ℵ	ως	f	ς	2	ς	f	f	2	2	f^{A}ς^{B}	ωσει	minn
BALΓΔΠD lat vg boh pesh hcl syr^{sin} aeth	2 om.											
45. ℵBLΔ	ευθυς	f	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	f	—	—	ευθεως	AΓΠD
ℵ 33	πλοιον	f	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	—	—	το πλοιον	BALΓΔΠD
D lat vg boh pesh syr^{sin} arm aeth	προαγειν αυτον	f	f	f	f	f	f	ς	ς	ς	προαγειν	all others
syr^{sin}	om.	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	f	2	εις το περαν	all others
none	2 ei ad oppositam ripam maris illius											
none	εις	f	f	ς	f	f	f	ς	f	f	προς	all
none	Βηθσαιδα	ς	f	ς	f	ς	ς	2	ς	ς	Βηθσαιδαν	ℵBLΠ c ff^{2} g^{2} q vg arm
none	2 Βηθαιδαν											
D b	αυτος δε	f	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	2	ς	ς	εως αυτος	all others
none	2 εως αν αυτος											
none	απελυσεν	f	3	2	2	f	2	ς	ς	ς	απολυση	AFGHMSU
EKΓ	2 απολυσει											
ℵBLΔD	3 απολυει											
none	τους οχλους	ς	f	ς[42]	ς	f	f	ς	ς	ς	τον οχλον	all
46. none	ανηλθεν	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	f	απηλθεν	all
47. D a b i g^{2}	ην παλαι	ς	f	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	2	ην	all others
none	2 add. iterum											
D	μεση τη θαλασση	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	μεσω της θαλασσης	all others
48. ℵBLΔD	ιδων	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	—	—	ειδεν	EFGH
a b ff^{2} i q	ελαυνοντας και βασανιζομενους	f	ς	ς	ς	f	f	ς	ς	ς	βασανιζομενους εν τω ελαυνειν	ℵBACΓΔKΠEFG
ℵA	εναντιος ο ανεμος	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ο ανεμος εναντιος	all others

[42] 69 reads with f.

Mark	*Caesarean Text*	Θ	fam^{1}	fam^{13}	28	565	700	W	G^{1}	G^{2}	*Textus Receptus*	
vi. 48. none	om.	ς	f	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	f	ς	*αυτοις*	all
none	add. *σφοδρα* post *αυτοις*	f	ς	f	f	f	f	f	ς	ς	om.	all
b boh	*περι δε*	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	f	ς	ς	2	*και περι*	AΧΓΠD f ff^{2} q vg pesh hcl arm aeth
none	2 et											
D a b c ff^{2} i	om.	f	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	f	ς	2	*προς αυτους*	all others
none	2 add. Jesus											
49. ℵBLΔ 33 syr^{sin}	*επι της θαλασσης περιπατουντα*	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	*περιπατουντα επι της θαλασσης*	AΧΓΠD lat vg boh pesh hcl arm aeth
none	*φαντασμα εδοξαν*	ς	f	ς	f	ς	ς	f	f	ς	*εδοξαν φαντασμα*	AΧΓΠD lat vg arm
50. D a b c ff^{2} i q	om.	f	ς	ς	ς	f	f	ς	2	2^{A}3^{B}	*γαρ αυτον ειδον*	AΓΔ
none	2 nam viderunt eum											
none	3 nam viderunt											
none	*ευθυς δε*	f	ς	ς	ς	2	ς	f	ς	3	*και ευθεως*	AΧΓΠ
none	2 *ευθεως δε*											
none	3 confestim											
D 33 a c ff^{2} i	*προς αυτους*	ς	ς	ς	ς	2	f	ς	f	ς	*μετ αυτων*	all others
b	2 *αυτοις*											
51. D a c i q boh	*εις το πλοιον προς αυτους*	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	f	ς	ς	ς	*προς αυτους εις το πλοιον*	all others
D	*περισσως*	2	3	ς	4	f	f	4	f	f	*λιαν εκ περισσου*	AΧΓΠ
none	2 *περιεσωσεν*											
none	3 *εκπερισσως*											
none	4 *εκ περισσου*											
L	*αυτοις*	2	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	—	—	*εαυτοις*	all others
none	2 *αυτους*											
syr^{sin}	*εξεπλησσοντο*	3	f	ς	2	ς	ς	ς	f	f	*εξισταντο και εθαυμαζον*	AΧΓΠD a b f q pesh hcl arm aeth
ℵBLΔ c i l vg boh	2 *εξισταντο*											
none	3 add. *και* ante *εξισταντο*											

Mark	*Caesarean Text*	Θ	fam[1]	fam[13]	28	565	700	W	G[1]	G[2]	*Textus Receptus*	
vi. 52. ℵBLΔ 33 boh hcl[mg]	αλλ ην	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ην γαρ	AMXΓΠD vg pesh hcl[txt] arm aeth
ℵBAXΓΠ	αυτων η καρδια	f	ς	f	ς	ς	f	f	ς	ς	η καρδια αυτων	LΔ lat vg
53. ℵBLΔ 33	add. εις before Γεν.	f	ς	ς	f	f	f	f	ς	ς	om.	ANXΓΠD etc.
BXΠ f g[1] boh	Γεννησαρεθ	f	f	f[43]	3	f	ς	ς	2	f	Γενησαρετ	NFH
D pesh syr[sin]	2 Γενησαρε											
ℵALΔ	3 Γεννησαρετ											
D a b c i q pesh syr[sin] arm	om.	f	f	ς	f	f	f	f	f	f	και προσωρμισθησαν	all others
54. ℵBLΔ	ευθυς	f	ς	f	f	2	2	f	—	—	ευθεως	ANXΓΠD
none	2 om.											
D lat vg boh pesh hcl aeth	επεγνωσαν	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	f	ς	f	f	επιγνοντες	all others
pauc	add. οι ανδρες του τοπου	f	2	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	αυτον	all others
AGΔ c pesh arm	2 add. οι ανδρες του τοπου εκεινου											
55. ℵBLΔ 33 boh aeth pesh	περιεδραμον	f	4	f	ς	3	3	f	2	2	περιδραμοντες	ANXΓΠ
none	2 και περιεδραμον											
lat vg	3 και περιδραμοντες											
none	4 και εκπεριδραμοντες											
none	εις ολην	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	ολην	all
ℵBLΔ 33 boh lat vg pesh aeth	χωραν	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	περιχωρον	ANXΓΠD b q hcl arm
ℵBLΔ 33 boh aeth pesh	και ηρξαντο	f	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	f	f	f	ηρξαντο	ANXΓΠ
D	om.	f	f	f	f	f	ς	f	—	—	τοις	all others
DM a b ff[2] i boh arm	φερειν	f	f	ς	ς	f	f	ς	ς	ς	περιφερειν	all others
D a b ff[2] syr[sin]	παντας τους κακως εχοντας post φερειν	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	f	ς	ς	ς	τους κακως εχοντας ante περιφερειν	all others

[43] 124 reads with 28; 69 reads γενησαρεθ.

Mark	*Caesarean Text*	Θ	fam^{1}	fam^{13}	28	565	700	W	G^{1}	G^{2}	*Textus Receptus*	
vi. 55. none	*οτι*	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	f	ς	ς	*οπου*	all
none	*εστιν εκει*	2	f	ς	f	f	f	f	ς	ς	*εκει εστιν*	ANXΓΠ
ℵBLΔ pesh aeth	2 *εστι*											
56. none	*οποταν*	ς	f	ς	ς	2	ς	f	ς	ς	*οπου αν*	BANLΠD
none	2 *οταν*											
ALM	*εισεπορευοντο*	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	f	ς	ς	*εισεπορευετο*	ℵBNXΓΠD
none	*εις αγρους η κωμας η πολεις*	f	2	ς	ς	f	3	ς	ς	ς	*εις κωμας η πολεις η αγρους*	ANXΓΠ
L g^{2} pesh	2 *εις κωμας η πολεις*											
a b ff^{2} g^{1} i q vg	3 *εις κωμας η αγρους η πολεις*											
D b c f ff^{2} g$^{1.2}$ l i q vg pesh hl syr^{sin}	*πλατειαις*	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	f	ς	f	f	*αγοραις*	all others
ℵΔ 33 D	*οσοι*	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	*οσοι αν*	all others
ℵBLΔ 33 D a	*ηψαντο*	f	f	f	f	f	2	f	ς	f	*ηπτοντο*	ANXΓΠ
none	2 *αψωνται*											
a b ff^{2} i q vg syr^{sin}	om.	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	f	*αυτου* (2°)	all others
N al pauc	*διεσωζοντο*	ς	f	f	ς	2	f	ς	ς	ς	*εσωζοντο*	ℵBALNXΓΠD lat vg pesh hcl
33	2 *εσωθησαν*											
xi. 1. M	*ηγγισαν*	ς	ς	f[44]	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	*εγγιζουσιν*	ℵBACLΓΔΠ a boh hcl arm
ℵBCLΔD lat sah	*Ιεροσολυμα*	f	f	f	f	f	ς	f	ς	ς	*Ιερουσαλημ*	AXΓΠ boh
k	*εις Βηθανιαν*	2	4	4	ς	3	f	ς	ς	ς	*εις Βηθφαγη και Βηθανιαν*	LΓΔΠ f q pesh hcl boh arm
ℵC arm aeth	2 *εις Βηθφαγη και εις Βηθανιαν*											
A	3 *και εις Βηθφαγη και Βηθανιαν*											
VEFGH	4 *εις Βηθσφαγη και Βηθανιαν*											
FH a b c f k pesh syr^{sin} arm aeth	*απεστειλε*	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	f	*αποστελλει*	all others

[44] 13 reads *ηγγισεν*.

Mark	*Caesarean Text*	Θ	fam^{1}	fam^{13}	28	565	700	W	G^{1}	G^{2}	*Textus Receptus*	
xi. 2. a sah	λεγων	f	f	f	f	ς	f	f	2	2	και λεγει	all others
D	2 et dixit											
arm syr^{sin}	om.	ς	f	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	f^{A}ς^{B}	αυτοις	all others
ℵC sah boh pesh	εφ ον ουδεις ανθρωπων ουπω	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	2	ς	f	εφ ον ουδεις ανθρωπων	DXΓ a c g k boh syr^{sin} arm aeth
none	2 ω οπου ουδεις											
ℵBCLΔ	εκαθισεν	f	ς	ς	ς	f	f	2	ς	ς	κεκαθικε	DAXΓΠ
none	2 επικεκαθεικεν											
ℵBCLΔ sah boh syr^{sin} arm aeth	solvite et	ς	ς	2	2	ς	ς	ς	f	f	λυσαντες	DAXΓΠ
none	2 και λυσαντες											
minn	adducite ad me	ς	ς	ς	ς	2	ς	ς	f	ς	αγαγετε	DAXΓΠ
none	2 απαγαγετε											
3. D a b f ff^{2} i arm	λυετε τον πωλον	f	2	f	f	f	f	2	2	2	ποιειτε τουτο	ℵBACLXΓΔΠ pesh hcl
syr^{sin}	2 om.											
ℵDACLΔEΓKΠ b c g^{1} syr^{sin} pesh hcl arm	αυτον αποστελλει	2	ς	f	f	f	ς	ς	3	3	αυτον αποστελει	GUΠ a d f ff^{2} g^{2} k q vg sah boh arm aeth
none	2 αποστελλι (sic) αυτον											
none	3 dimittet illum											
4. D b f boh pesh	και απελθοντες ευρον	f	2	2	2	f	f	ς	f	ς	απηλθον δε και ευρον	ACXΓΠ sah hcl syr^{sin}
none	2 απηλθον ουν και ευρον											
BDALXΓΠ	πωλον	ς	f	f	ς	f	f	f	—	—	τον πωλον	ℵCΔ
BLΔ	θυραν	f	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	f	—	—	την θυραν	ℵDACXΓΠ
5. X sah	τινες δε	ς	f	f	f	ς	ς	f	ς	f	και τινες	all others
MΓ etc	εστωτων	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	—	—	εστηκοτων	all others
arm syr^{sin}	λεγουσιν	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	ελεγον	all others
6. k sah boh syr^{sin} aeth	ειπεν αυτοις	2	f	2[45]	f	2	2	f	2	2	ενετειλατο	AXΓΠ
M a pesh	2 ενετειλατο αυτοις											

[45] 124 reads with f.

Mark	*Caesarean Text*	Θ	fam^{1}	fam^{13}	28	565	700	W	G^{1}	G^{2}	*Textus Receptus*	
xi. 7.	ℵC arm	*αγουσιν*	f	f	f	f	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	*ηγαγον*	AΧΓΠD c f l g^{1,2} pesh hcl arm aeth
	ℵBCLΔD b ff^{2} g^{1} i l boh arm	*επιβαλλουσιν*	f	f	ς	f	f	f	f	ς	ς	*επεβαλον*	AΧΓΠ a c f g^{2} k q sah pesh hcl arm aeth
	none	*αυτω ιματια*	4	f	ς	f	3	ς	2	ς	f	*αυτω τα ιματια αυτων*	ACΧΓΠKMEF
	b i k q arm	2 *αυτω τα ιματια*											
	none	3 *αυτων τα ιματια*											
	B	4 *αυτω τα ιματια εαυτων*											
	D	*καθιζει*	ς	f	ς	f	f	f	f	ς	ς	*εκαθισεν*	all others
	ℵBCLΔD	*επ αυτον*	f	ς	ς	ς	f	f	ς	—	—	*επ αυτω*	ANΧΓΠ
8.	L	om.	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	*αυτων*	all others
	D a b c ff^{2} k i pesh arm syr^{sin}	*εστρωννυον*	2	f	ς	f	f	f	f	ς	ς	*εστρωσαν*	ℵBACLΔKΠEF
	none	2 *εστρωνναν* (sic)											
	AKMNΠ a c f k l q syr^{sin} arm	*εν τη οδω*	ς	ς	ς^{46}	f	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	*εις την οδον* (1°)	ℵBCLΔΧΓ b ff^{2} i
	syr^{sin}	om.	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	*αλλοι δε . . . την οδον*	all others
	Π b hcl	*αλλοι*	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	—	2	2	*αλλοι δε*	all others
	arm	2 et alii											
	none	*δενδρων*	f	ς	ς	f	f	ς	—	—	—	*των δενδρων*	all
	KMNΠ a b c f l q vg	*εν τη οδω*	f	ς	ς	ς	2	f	—	ς	ς	*εις την οδον*	AΧNMΓD lat pesh hcl arm
	none	2 *τη οδω*											
9.	k arm	*ωσαννα τω υψιστω*	f	ς	f	f	f	f	2	f	f	*ωσαννα*	all others
	D b ff^{2}	2 om.											
10.	Δ a	om.	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	*ερχομενη*	all others
	ℵBCLUΔD lat vg sah boh pesh syr^{sin} arm	om.	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	*εν ονοματι κυριου*	ANΧΓΠ q hcl aeth

[46] 69 reads with f.

Mark	*Caesarean Text*	Θ	fam^{1}	fam^{13}	28	565	700	W	G^{1}	G^{2}	*Textus Receptus*	
xi. 10. syr^{sin}	*ειρηνη εν ουρανω και δοξα εν υψιστοις*	f	3	ς	2	ς	2	2	f	f	*ωσαννα εν τοις υψιστοις*	all others
arm	2 *ειρηνη εν τοις υψιστοις*											
none	3 add f post ς											
11. D [a b c f ff^{2} g^{2} i] syr^{sin}	*εισελθων*	f	ς	ς	ς	f	f	ς	3	ς^{A}2^{B}	*εισηλθεν*	all others
none	2 venit											
k	3 *εισηλθον*											
ℵBCLΔD a b ff^{2} g^{2} i k l vg boh syr^{sin}	om.	f	f	ς	ς	f	f	f	—	f	*ο Ιησους*	ANXΠ q hcl
ℵBCLMΔ lat boh pesh arm aeth	om.	f	ς	f	f	ς	ς	f	—	ς	*και* (2°)	ANXΓΠD q hcl arm
D a b c f ff^{2} i	om.	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	—	ς	*και* (3°)	all others
minn	*παντας*	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	—	ς^{A}2^{B}	*παντα*	all others
none	2 templum illud											
none	*της ημερας*	ς	ς	f	f	2	ς	ς	—	ς	*της ωρας*	all others
D	2 *ωρας*											
12. minn pauc	om.	ς	ς	f	ς	f	ς	ς	—	ς	*αυτων*	all
none	*εις Βηθανιαν*	ς	3	ς	2	ς	ς	f	—	ς	*απο Βηθανιας*	all
none	2 *απο Βηθανιαν* (sic)											
none	3 om.											
13. ℵBACLMNΔ	*συκην απο μακροθεν*	f	f	f	f	f	f	2	—	—	*συκην μακροθεν*	MXΓΠ
D	2 *απο μακροθεν συκην*											
syr^{sin}	*ηλθεν εις αυτην*	ς	ς	f[47]	ς	ς	ς	f	—	ς^{A}f^{B}	*ηλθεν*	all others
a f q	*ως ευρησων τι*	f	2	ς	2	f	f	2	—	ς^{A}f^{B}	*ει αρα ευρησει τι*	EGHMSVXΓ arm
ℵBACKLNUΔΠ	2 *ει αρα τι ευρησει*											
a f	*ελθων δε επ αυτην*	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	2	ς	—	ς^{A}2^{B}	*και ελθων επ αυτην*	all others
D b c ff^{2} i k	2 *και*											
D a q	*και μηδεν ευρων*	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	—	ς	*ουδεν ευρεν*	all others

[47] 124 reads *ηλθον*.

Mark	*Caesarean Text*	Θ	fam^{1}	fam^{13}	28	565	700	W	G^{1}	G^{2}	*Textus Receptus*	
xi. 13. N 33 b c q aeth	*ει μη φυλλα μονον*	ς	ς	f	2	f	f	f	—	4^{A}3^{B}	*ει μη φυλλα* (2°)	all others
none	2 *ει μη φυλλα μονα*											
none (arm)	3 in ea											
none	4 om.											
pauc	*ουπω*	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	—	ς	*ου*	ANXΓΠD lat vg hcl arm aeth
D	*ο καιρος*	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	f	—	—	*καιρος*	all others
14. D a q syr^{sin}	om.	ς	ς	ς^{48}	ς	f	ς	ς	—	ς	*και* (1°)	all others
a b c ff^{2} i pesh	om.	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	—	f	*αποκριθεις*	all others
ℵBACKLΔΠD lat vg boh pesh hcl syr^{sin} arm aeth	*ειπεν αυτη*	f	f	f	f	f	f	2	—	f	*ο Ιησους ειπεν αυτη*	EGHSUVXΓ
none	2 *ειπεν αυτη ο Ιησους*											
ℵBCLΔD arm syr^{sin}	*εις τον αιωνα εκ σου μηδεις καρπον*	f	2	ς	f	f	ς	2	3	3	*εκ σου εις τον αιωνα μηδεις καρπον*	ANXΓΠ
none	2 *εις τον αιωνα εκ σου καρπον μηδεις*											
arm	3 ne quis usque ad aeternum a te fructum											
DU	*φαγη*	ς	f	f	f	ς	ς	f	—	—	*φαγοι*	ℵBACLNXΓΔΠ
syr^{sin}	*ηκουσαν*	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	*ηκουον*	all others
15. b i boh syr^{sin}	*και ερχεται εις Ιεροσολυμα*	ς	ς	ς	3	ς	f	ς	2	2	*και ερχονται εις Ιεροσολυμα*	ℵBACLNΓΠ
none	2 et venit Jesus Hierosolymam											
none	3 om.											
ℵBCLΔ 33 D a b c i k l vg boh arm syr^{sin} aeth	om.	ς	f	ς^{49}	f	f	f	f	f	f	*ο Ιησους*	ANXΓΠ f q pesh hcl
arm	illinc e templo	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	f	*εν τω ιερω*	all others
N arm	*κολλυβιστων εξεχεεν*	f	ς	f	f	f	f	f	f	f	*κολλυβιστων*	ℵBACΓΔΠKEF lat pesh hcl boh

[48] 69 reads *μη* for *και*.

[49] 124 reads with f.

Mark	*Caesarean Text*	Θ	fam^{1}	fam^{13}	28	565	700	W	G^{1}	G^{2}	*Textus Receptus*	
xi. 17. arm minn	docebat eos	ς	ς	ς^{50}	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς$^{A\,f^{B}}$	εδιδασκε	all others
ℵBCLΔ k boh pesh aeth syr^{sin}	και ελεγεν	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	2	λεγων	ANXΓΠD lat vg hcl arm
none	2 dicebat quia											
B b g^{1} arm syr^{sin}	om.	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	f	f	αυτοις	ℵCLΔ k boh pesh aeth
D b c i k q boh arm	om.	f	f	ς^{51}	f	ς	f	ς	f	f	ου	all others
AMΠ 33	αυτον εποιησατε	f	f	ς	ς	f	f	ς	2	ς	εποιησατε αυτον	ℵCNXΓΠ
none	2 fecistis											
18. ℵBACKLΔΠD lat vg boh pesh arm aeth syr^{sin}	οι αρχιερεις και οι γραμματεις	f	f	ς^{52}	f	f	f	f	f	f	οι γραμματεις και οι αρχιερεις	EGHMSUVXΓ hcl
ℵBACEGHD	απολεσωσιν	f	f	f	ς	f	f	f	—	—	απολεσουσιν	KMΔ
none	εφοβουντο δε	f	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	2	2	εφοβουντο γαρ	all
none	2 et timebant											
a	populum	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	αυτον	all others
ℵBCΔ boh	πας γαρ	ς	f	f	f	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	οτι πας	ALNXΓΠD lat vg pesh hcl arm
none	λαος	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	—	A2B	οχλος	all
none	2 om.											
19. ℵBCKLΔΠ 33	οταν	f	ς	ς	f	f	ς	f	—	—	οτε	ANXΓD
arm	εξω της πολεως εξεπορευοντο	ς	3	ς^{53}	f	2	2	f	2	ς	εξεπορευετο εξω της πολεως	ℵCDEGHM a b f ff^{2} g$^{1\text{-}2}$ i k l vg boh hcl^{txt} aeth
BAKMΔΠ c d pesh hcl^{mg} arm	2 εξεπορευοντο εξω της πολεως											
minn pauc	3 εξω της πολεως εξεπορευετο											
20. none	παραπορευομενοι δε πρωι	f	2	ς	2	f	f	2	3	3	και πρωι παραπορευομενοι	ANXΓΠ f ff^{2} g^{1} l vg hcl pesh arm

[50] 124 reads with f.

[51] 69 reads οτι for ου, omitting οτι after γεγραπται.

[52] 124 reads with f.

[53] 124 reads with f.

Mark	*Caesarean Text*	Θ	fam^{1}	fam^{13}	28	565	700	W	G^{1}	G^{2}	*Textus Receptus*	
xi. 20. ℵBCLΔD 33 b i q syr^{sin} aeth	2 *και παραπορευομενοι πρωι*											
none	3 ut transibant mane											
21. syr^{sin} (M 33)	*ειπεν αυτω*	f	ς	ς	ς	f	f	ς	f	f^{A}2^{B}	*λεγει αυτω*	all others
	2 dixit Jesu											
DNLΔ 33	*εξηρανθη*	f	f	ς[54]	ς	f	f	ς	f	f	*εξηρανται*	all others
22. syr^{sin} arm	om.	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	f	f	*και*	all others
unc. omn minn. plu	*ο Ιησους*	f	f	f	f	f	f	ς	—	—	*Ιησους*	minn pauc
(syr^{sin})	*ειπεν*	f	ς	ς	ς	f	f	ς	f	f	*λεγει*	all others
ℵ 33 D a b i arm syr^{sin}	*ει εχετε*	f	ς	f	f	f	ς	ς	f	ς	*εχετε*	BACLNXΓΔΠ c f ff^{2} g^{1,2} k l vg boh pesh hcl aeth
D	*του θεου*	ς	ς	ς	2	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	*θεου*	all others
a c k	2 om.											
23. ℵBND lat vg syr^{sin} arm	om.	f	f	ς[55]	f	f	f	ς	f	f	*γαρ*	ACLXΓΔΠ q hcl*
ℵD 33 g^{2} k arm aeth	om.	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	f	ς	ς	*οτι* (1°)	BACLXNΓΔΠ lat vg boh pesh
A	*εαν*	ς	f	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	—	—	*αν*	all others
none	*αρθηναι . . . βληθηναι*	ς	f	ς[56]	f	ς	ς	f	f	ς	*αρθητι . . . βληθητι*	all
ℵBLΔ arm	*αλλα πιστευη*	f	ς	ς	ς	f	2	ς	ς	ς	*αλλα πιστευση*	ACNΠD arm syr^{sin}
none	2 om.											
ℵBN 33 a k syr^{sin}	*λαλει*	f	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	2^{A}3^{B}	*λεγει*	ACXΓΠ f g^{1} l q vg
none	2 dicunt											
(k)	3 dicet											
none	*εσται γενησεται αυτω*	f	ς	ς	ς	(f)	f	ς	2	3	*γινεται εσται αυτω*	all
none	2 quoniam erit illud											
none	3 *γενησεται εσται ουτος*											

[54] 69 reads *εξηραται*. [55] 124 reads with f. [56] 124 reads with f.

Mark	*Caesarean Text*	Θ	fam^{1}	fam^{13}	28	565	700	W	G^{1}	G^{2}	*Textus Receptus*	
xi. 23. a	*οσα αν ειπη*	f	2	ς	2	f	f	2	2	2	*ο εαν ειπη*	ANXΓΠ a k q pesh hcl arm
ℵBCLΔD f g l vg boh	2 om.											
24. ℵBCLΔD	*οσα*	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	*οσα αν*	AXΓ
minn pauc arm	*αιτησησθε*	f	ς	ς	f	2	2	ς	ς	ς	*αιτεισθε*	all others
none	2 *αιτησητε*											
D lat vg aeth arm	*ληψεσθε*	f	f	ς	ς	f	f	2	2	f	*λαμβανετε*	ANXΓΠ pesh hcl arm
ℵBCLΔ boh arm	2 *ελαβετε*											
25. D	*αφησει*	f	2	ς[57]	ς	f	f	2	ς	ς	*αφη*	all others
none	2 *ανη*											
a ff^{2} i k minn. pauc	om.	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	*υμιν*	all others
26. ℵBLSΔ k l boh arm aeth	om. vers.	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	f	f	f	f	hab. vers.	ACEGHNΠD a b c f ff^{2} i m q vg arm pesh hcl aeth
CKMΠD	om.	ς	f	ς	ς	—	—	—	—	—	*τοις*	AEGHN etc
D a b c f m q vg pesh hcl	*αφησει υμιν*	ς	ς	f[58]	2	—	—	—	—	—	*αφησει*	AC etc
none	2 *αφιεται*											
27. XD b c ff^{2} i k q aeth	*ερχεται*	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	*ερχονται* (1°)	all others
28. ℵBCLΔ a b c f boh aeth	*ελεγον*	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	f	f	*λεγουσιν*	ANXΓΠD i k l q vg pesh hcl arm
ℵBLΔ boh hcl^{mg}	*η τις*	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	*και τις*	ANXΓΠ lat vg pesh hcl^{txt} arm aeth

[57] 346 reads with f.

[58] 346 adds at end: *λεγω δε υμιν· αιτειτε και δοθησεται υμιν· ζητειτε και ευρησετε· κρουετε και ανοιγησετε υμιν. πας γαρ ο αιτων λαμβανει· και ο ζητων ευρισκει και τω κρουοντι ανοιγησεται·*

Mark	*Caesarean Text*	Θ	fam^{1}	fam^{13}	28	565	700	W	G^{1}	G^{2}	*Textus Receptus*	
xi. 28. ℵBCLΔ 33 a b c f l vg boh syr^{sin} pesh arm	εδωκεν την εξουσιαν ταυτην	f	2	4^{59}	ς	f	ς	3	f	f	την εξουσιαν ταυτην εδωκεν	ANXΠ i q hcl arm aeth
none	2 εδωκεν ταυτην την εξουσιαν											
none	3 ταυτην την εξουσιαν εδωκεν											
UΓ	4 την εξουσιαν ταυτην δεδωκεν											
a b ff^{2} i arm syr^{sin}	om.	f	ς	ς	f	f	ς	f	f	f	ινα ταυτα ποιης	all others
29. AKΠ g^{2} aeth arm	επερωτησω καγω υμας	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	2	ς	ς	επερωτησω υμας καγω	ℵGMNΓD pesh hcl arm
none	2 επερωτω υμας καγω											
arm	λογον ενα	f	f	ς^{60}	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ενα λογον	all others
D a b c f g^{1} i k q boh arm	om.	f	ς	ς	f	f	ς	f	f	ς	και (1°)	all others
(D)LΔ 33 c pesh arm aeth	καγω υμιν	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς^{AfB}	υμιν	all others
30. ℵBACLΔ 33 D	το Ιωαννου	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	—	—	Ιωαννου	NXΓΠ
none	απ	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ς	εξ	all
31. BCGKLMΔΠD	διελογιζοντο	f	f	f	f	f	ς	f	—	—	ελογιζοντο	AEFHNS
D a b c ff^{2} i k	τι ειπωμεν εαν ειπωμεν	f	ς	f	f	f	2	f	ς	ς	εαν ειπωμεν	all others
none	2 οτι εαν ειπωμεν											
arm	οτι εξ ουρανου	f	ς	f	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	εξ ουρανου	all
(D)M a b c d ff^{2} i q vg syr^{sin}	ερει ημιν	f	f	f	ς	f	f	f	f	f	ερει	all others
ACLMSXΔ a b c d ff^{2} i k q boh syr^{sin}	om.	ς	ς	ς^{61}	f	f	ς	f	f	f	ουν	ℵBEFGHNΠ f l vg sah hcl

[59] 124 reads with f. [60] 124 reads with f. [61] 346 reads with f.

Mark	*Caesarean Text*	Θ	fam^{1}	fam^{13}	28	565	700	W	G^{1}	G^{2}	*Textus Receptus*	
xi. 32. D lat	εαν	ς	4	ς	ς	3	f	ς	f	2	αλλ εαν	minn. pauc a hcl arm aeth
i pesh syr^{sin}	2 et si											
none	3 εαν δε											
ℵBACLΔ 33 k sah boh arm	4 αλλα											
(D)N a b c ff^{2} i q g boh hcl arm aeth	φοβουμεθα	f	ς	f	f	f	f	f	ς	f	εφοβουντο	all others
ℵCND	παντες	f	f	ς	f	f	f	f	—	—	απαντες	BALXΓΔΠ
D a b c ff^{2} i q g arm syr^{sin}	ηδεισαν	f	ς	ς	3	f	2	f	ς	f	ειχον	all others
none	2 οιδασι											
none	3 ειχοσαν											
ℵN c k arm aeth	οτι	f	f	2[62]	f	f	f	ς	ς	f	οτι ουτως	AXΓΠ lat vg pesh hcl arm
BCL	2 ουτως οτι											
33. ℵBCLNΔ a ff^{2} boh	τω Ιησου λεγουσι	f	ς	f	f	ς	ς	f	f	f^{A}ς^{-B}	λεγουσι τω Ιησου	AXΓΠD lat vg pesh hcl arm
AKMΠ(D) b g i l q vg hcl aeth	αποκριθεις ο Ιησους λεγει αυτοις	ς	f	f	2	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ο Ιησους αποκριθεις λεγει αυτοις	EFGHSUVX
minn pauc	2 αποκριθεις λεγει αυτοις ο Ιησους											
arm syr^{sin}	facio hoc	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	ς	f	ς	ταυτα ποιω	all others

[62] 124 reads with f.

Singular Readings in Individual Greek Codices

In addition to the readings tabulated above the following readings are found in one only of the codices of the family without any support elsewhere. The collation is with the Textus Receptus.

Θ

Mk. i. 8 μεν pro εν ante υδατι
9 om εγενετο
20 add τα δικτυα και ante τον πατερα
28 αυτη pro αυτου
30 om περι αυτης
39 om τα ante δαιμονια
vi. 22 om με
28 τον ιωαννην pro αυτον
41 του δυο pro τους δυο (2°)
42 εφαγων
43 τον pro των
54 εξελθοντον
xi. 3 add παλιν post ευθεως

FAM[1]

Mk. i. 20 μισθιων pro μισθωτων
vi. 11 add τον κονιορτον post εκειθεν; om τον χουν
20 om και αγιον
27 απολυσας pro αποστειλας
33 ιδοντες pro ειδον
om και (2°)
εκει post ηλθον
42 και εχορτασθησαν παντες hoc ordine
48 επι της θαλασσης περιπατων hoc ordine
56 ασθενεις pro ασθενουντας
xi. 11 ουσης ηδη hoc ordine
27 om και οι πρεσβυτεροι

FAM[13]

Mk. i. 34 ποικιλοις
35 και αναστας
vi. 33 om πολλοι
45 add ο ιησους post ηναγκασεν

28

Mk. i. 3 add του ante κυριου
19 κατασκευαζοντας pro καταρτιζοντας (also in 124)
28 του ιορδανου pro της γαλιλαιας
vi. 8 add την ante οδον
30 ανηγγειλαν pro απηγγειλαν
απαντα pro παντα
α pro οσα
31 οι υπαγοντες και οι ερχομενοι, hoc ordine
34 add εσκυλμενοι και ερριμμενοι post ησαν
xi. 2 πορευομενοι pro εισπορευομενοι
17 om πασι τοις εθνεσιν
31 add εις ante αυτω

565

Mk. i. 11 add ιδου ante φωνη
22 εν pro επι
vi. 11 εκτινασσεσθε pro εκτιναξατε
add επ ante αυτοις
20 ιδων pro ειδως
23 καν pro εως
37 om αρτους
44 om ανδρες
46 om εις το ορος προσευξασθαι
51 add λιαν εν εαυτοις ad fin
52 των αρτων pro τοις αρτοις
xi. 5 om εκει
11 οψινης pro οψιας
13 επ αυτη pro εν αυτη
25 εκαστα pro κατα

700

Mk. i. 18 λινα pro δικτυα
32 om τους
vi. 11 εξερχομενοι pro εκπορευομενοι
15 add ο ante προφητης
20 ηκουσεν pro ηκουε
33 add σε post εκει
xi. 18 add αυτου post ηκουσαν

W

Mk. vi. 8 πηραν pro ζωνην
11 αυτων pro αυτοις
14 αυτου pro εν αυτω
22 δαν pro εαν
25 om προς τον βασιλεα
30 απηγγειλον pro απηγγειλαν
31 λοιπον pro ολιγον
om οι ante υπαγοντες
40 ανδρες pro ανα
50 μη φοβεισθε εγω ειμι hoc ordine
52 συνηκαν
53 ηλθαν pro ηλθον
xi. 2 την κατεναντι κωμην hoc ordine
om υμων
11 om ηδη
12 αυριον pro επαυριον
13 εις αυτην pro εν αυτη
15 om και αγοραζοντας
29 τινι pro ποια
31 αυτους pro εαυτους
33 οιδομεν

Singular Georgian Readings

In the following list inverted commas (") mean agreement with the reading cited from one of the Georgian authorities; a dash signifies disagreement.

Mk. i.	Adysh (Grg[1])	Opiza (A)	Tbet' (B)
3	—	*την οδον*] vias	"
	ευθειας] et rectas	"	"
4	*εγενετο*] fuit autem	—	—
6	—	*ενδεδυμενος*] vestitus est vestimento suo	"
	—	*ακριδας και μελι αγριον*] mel et locustam campestrem	—
7	non dignus sum (order)	"	"
14	*το παραδοθηναι τον ιωαννην*] traditionem Iohannis in carcerem	—	—
	—	*κηρυσσων*] et praedicabat	"
16	*ησαν γαρ αλιεις*] retiarii enim fuerunt	—	—
19	—	*προβας εκειθεν ολιγον*] et cum paululum progressus est	"
	ειδεν] et vidit ille	"	"
	αυτους] illi quoque	—	"
	—	*εν τω πλοιω καταρτιζοντας τα δικτυα*] componebant tantum retia in navi	"
23	—	*και ανεκραξε*] exclamavit	"
24	*εα τι*] sine nos: quid agitur	—	"
	—	—	*σοι και ημιν* (order)
	ναζωραιε	—	—
	—	*ηλθες*] venisti hic	—
27	om *ωστε*	—	—
	τι] quidnam	—	—
	immundis illis spiritibus (order)	—	—

Mk. i.	Adysh (Grg[1])	Opiza (A)	Tbet' (B)
30	—	—	αυτω] ιησου
31	και προσελθων] et venit	"	—
	—	—	et venit Iesus
37	και ευροντες] quandoque invenerunt (hab syr[pal])	—	—
	λεγουσιν] dixerunt	—	—
	—	et dixerunt	"
38	—	om και ante εκει	—
39	—	ante εις ολην add και	"
41	—	εκτεινας] et extendit	"
43	—	—	add ιησους post αυτω 1°
	—	—	om αυτω 2°
	om ωρα	—	—
44	—	προσεταξε] praecepit tibi	—
45	—	εξελθων] egressus est illinc et	—
Mk. vi.			
2	—	ηρξατο] et coepit	"
3	sorores eius nonne hic apud nos sunt (order)	sorores istius omnes apud nos sunt	sicut A
6	—	post διδασκων add αυτους	"
9	υποδεδεμενους σανδαλια] sandalia haberetis	—	—
14	—	om εν αυτω	εν αυτω] apud eum
15	αλλοι δε] quidam	—	et alii
	—	post προφητων add πρωτων	"
16	—	om ακουσας	—
20	—	ο γαρ ηρωδης] et Herodes	"
22	—	—	post συνανακειμενοις add saltatio illa eius

Mk. vi.	Adysh (Grg[1])	Opiza (A)	Tbet' (B)
22	om *ο βασιλευς*	*ο βασ.*] Herodes rex	sicut A
	—	*εισελθουσα*] ingressa est puella illa	"
26	—	*ο βασιλευς*] Herodes rex	"
	δια] propter autem	"	"
30	om *αυτω*	—	—
31	—	—	*οι ερχομενοι και οι υπαγοντες*] venientes
34	om *επ αυτης*	—	—
41	—	*λαβων*] accepit Iesus	"
	—	post *δυο* add istoque modo	"

Mk. xi.			
17	—	—	*μου*] patris mei
18	—	*ηκουσαν*] hoc audiverunt	cum audiverunt hoc
22	*αυτοις*] *αυτω*	—	"
23	—	—	*υμιν*] tibi
24	—	—	*δια τουτο*] amen
27	*περιπατουντος αυτου*] cum intraret	—	—
28	om *αυτω*	—	—
29	post *αυτοις* add si vultis	—	—
30	*αποκριθητε*] dicite	"	"
32	post *γαρ* add prophetam	"	"

Analysis of the Tables

Analysis indicates that the following points are noteworthy[7]:

(1) The Tables show 392 variants found in at least two members of the Caesarean family. Of these

565 contains	221 (56%)
Θ	198 (50%)
Georgian	178 (45%)
28	168 (42%)
700	167 (42%)
W (not including variants in ch. i, where it is not Caesarean)	130 (40%)
fam. 1	137 (35%)
fam. 13	125 (31%)

(2) Besides these there are 168 variants from the Textus Receptus found in only one member of the family, but with such outside support as to make them deserve consideration. The distribution of these is as follows:

Georgian	49
Θ	27
565	26
W (in two chapters)	18
fam. 1	15
fam. 13	15
700	10
28	8

The character of the outside support given to these variants is remarkably diverse. It is convenient to begin with the Greek

[7] In these and the other statistics presented in this article the reader must be warned that although great pains have been taken to make the figures accurate, yet absolute accuracy cannot be guaranteed. Slight errors may have been made in computing, and the verification necessary for eliminating these would have produced no commensurate result in a matter where only considerable and noteworthy differences of number and proportion are practically significant. Moreover the statistics had to be made from the form in which the Tables were first completed. Later changes in judgment and corrections due to repeated verification of the Tables have in a very few instances been found necessary. These could not be allowed for in the statistics. To have taken account of them would probably have caused a slight, but not appreciable, difference in the statistics; it would not have affected in the least the inferences to be drawn from them.

MSS. The 'singular' [8] variants in Θ and 565 are about equally numerous but exactly opposite to each other in textual character. Θ has 16 Neutral and Alexandrian readings, 5 'Western' and Neutral, and only 3 'Western' readings, of which one is found both in Latin and Syriac, one in D and the Latin only, and one in the Syriac only. On the other hand 565 has 3 Neutral, 2 Alexandrian, and 16 'Western' variants; of the 'Western' all are found in the Latin 'Western' authorities and only two in the Syriac also. 700, although its singular variants are less numerous, is of exactly the same type as 565; it has 8 'Western' readings (seven in the Latin and one in the Syriac) and one Alexandrian. In the other members of the family the character of the variants is more equally divided, except that W and to a less extent fam^{1} seem to have an unusual amount of agreement with the Old Syriac. Thus Θ stands out as having a special strain of Neutral variants, and 565 and 700 show an equally remarkable number of 'Western' readings. It is interesting that a preponderance of Neutral singular readings similar to that found in Θ is also a characteristic of G^{1} (see p. 310).

(3) The problem of the Georgian version is more complicated. As is shown on p. 295, it was originally made from the Armenian, which at that time must have been an almost pure representative of the Caesarean text, though with some readings taken from the Old Syriac. In the course of generations both Armenian and Georgian were revised, and neither original version is now extant. The Georgian, however, in the Adysh, Opiza, and T'bet MSS. represents an older stage than any now extant in the Armenian. It is, therefore, natural that many Caesarean readings lacking in the extant Armenian should be found in the Georgian.

A consideration of the tables shows that the Georgian is only slightly inferior in value to 565 and Θ, and that its attestation of Caesarean readings is about equally divided between G^{1} and G^{2}. A majority of the Caesarean readings found in the Georgian are preserved in both recensions, but those found only in one or the other are relatively numerous, and there is no

[8] That is to say, found in only one member of the family; they are, of course, not 'singular' in the usual sense of being wholly unsupported.

marked superiority in this respect attaching to one recension over the other. This means that the text of the Adysh MS. and that of the T'bet and Opiza MSS. (A and B) have been about equally revised by the Ecclesiastical text, probably in both cases through an Armenian text partly conformed to the Ecclesiastical type. These revisions of the Georgian doubtless removed a considerable number of Caesarean readings which were in the original version, but they did not always affect the two recensions at the same points. In their present form the Adysh MS. is slightly less Ecclesiastical than either A or B separately, but A and B together are perhaps slightly better than the Adysh MS.

The Georgian has many more singular variants than any Greek MS.; of these, 15 are common to both recensions, 7 are found only in the Adysh MS., 17 in both A and B of G^2, 9 in B only, and none in A only. Their character (like that of the Caesarean text in general) is partly Neutral and partly 'Western,' but the Old Syriac supports them more frequently than it does any of the Greek MSS. of the family except W. Some of these singular variants (two are confirmed by the Berlin fragment) may represent the true Caesarean text; some may be due to Syriac infection derived from the Armenian. A further complication arises from a comparison of the Caesarean readings in the Georgian with those in the extant Armenian, for it seems to indicate that the recension represented by the Adysh MS. had undergone an earlier revision by a Neutral, rather than an Ecclesiastical, standard, in addition to a later Ecclesiastical revision similar to that undergone by G^2. This is shown by the fact that in 29 cases A and B preserve Caesarean readings which are neither in the Adysh MS. nor in the Armenian, and that in every one of these cases the attestation for the Adysh reading is Neutral and Ecclesiastical. (There is only one case in which A and B agree with the Armenian and the Textus Receptus against the Adysh MS.) These Neutral readings of course survived in the Adysh MS. chiefly because they were also found in the Ecclesiastical text, but they cannot be regarded as primarily Ecclesiastical, for if they were the result of an Ecclesiastical revision, they would have the mixed

character of that text and not be exclusively Neutral. It is also very important to notice that this Neutral character does not apply to readings found in both Georgian recensions, but is a peculiarity of G^1 when it is unsupported. The variants from the Textus Receptus attested by the two recensions have the mixed type of the Caesarean text, and are almost all proved to be Caesarean by Greek attestation.

On historical grounds it is very improbable that this Neutral revision of the Georgian came directly from Greek sources, and consequently the facts seem to indicate that the Armenian version at an early, but not the earliest, stage of its history was revised by a Greek Neutral text. This affected the archetype of G^1 but not of G^2. Later the Armenian was still further revised by Ecclesiastical texts, and this independently influenced the existing MSS. of G^1 and G^2. Neither of these Georgian recensions was as thoroughly revised as the now extant Armenian; hence many early readings survive in Georgian which have been eliminated from all Armenian MSS.

In connection with what has just been said it is natural to think of the Neutral revision which seems to have affected Θ, but a comparison of readings does not suggest any marked connection between the Neutral readings in Θ and those in the Adysh MS. Probably all that can be said — and it is not unimportant — is that the evidence of Θ and that of the Adysh MS. coincide to prove that at some period later than the first appearance of the Georgian version there was a tendency both in Greek and Armenian circles to correct the Caesarean text by Neutral copies.

(4) That a common text is shared by these authorities is clear, but any attempt to divide the family into smaller groups of manuscripts results in remarkable and instructive failure. Those MSS. which have already been grouped as family 1 and family 13 had common ancestors, not far removed from the existing codices; but apart from this no two members of the Caesarean family show evidence of any close relationship.

It is possible, however, that research may establish a family tree, and there are indications which might be followed up. Family 1, W, and the Georgian have more variants in com-

mon with the Sinaitic Syriac than have the other Caesarean manuscripts, and moreover share a rather large number of sub-singular readings. But, on the other hand, 28 and W have several curious errors in common, although there is no other evidence of close relationship between them. 565 and 700 both belong to the more 'Western' branch of the group, in contrast to Θ, yet each shares as many readings with Θ alone as with the other of the two or with the Georgian. In fact these four, the best authorities for the Caesarean text, are all closer to each other than to any of their poorer relations. But this only means that they are better representatives of the original Caesarean text and have been less thoroughly corrected by the Ecclesiastical text.

The relative independence of the individual manuscripts of the family renders all the more striking the fidelity with which one or the other supports a selection of variants for which other attestation oscillates between the most widely separated textual types. The reason for grouping together the manuscripts in the Caesarean family is not merely that they often agree, but that they agree in the character of the selection which they make, giving now a reading from purely Neutral manuscripts, then one found only in D and the European Latin, to be followed by one peculiar to the Old Syriac or found only in the Caesarean family.

II. Patristic Evidence

The preceding discussion proves that the group of manuscripts studied includes remains of a common text corrupted in different ways in the several manuscripts under the influence of Ecclesiastical standards. They do not, however, in themselves afford any evidence as to the date or provenance of the text which was thus corrupted; nor is it demonstrated that the non-ecclesiastical readings all came from the same source. At this stage therefore it is necessary to turn to the evidence of quotations in the church fathers. This evidence is always the guiding star of the textual critic in his effort to localize and date a text. It was, for instance, only by the aid of Cyprian's quotations that the Latin manuscripts Codex Bobiensis (k) and Codex Floriacensis (h) were identified as singularly good representatives of the African Latin of the third century, and the Codex Palatinus (e) as a slightly less valuable member of the same family. Moreover, now that the African text is securely established, its influence can be recognized in many sporadic variants in other Latin manuscripts.

In the Greek field relatively little has as yet been done in localizing the manuscripts or texts by this means, and students of Greek texts have been far outstripped by the investigators of the Latin and Syriac New Testament. We are therefore fortunate in now being able clearly to identify the family text of the manuscripts that have been discussed as the one used in Caesarea by both Origen and Eusebius. It is true that for a short time after reaching Caesarea Origen used not this type but a tolerably pure form of the Neutral text. This raises problems which must be discussed later. But for the present purpose the important point is that for Origen's quotations, from Mark xii–xvi made in the later books of his Commentary on John (beginning with book xi), and for his quotations from all parts of Mark made in his subsequent writings, he used the text of our group of manuscripts. Moreover Eusebius always used that text. This is sufficient evidence to permit us to assign it a date and a locality.

Origen

The textual character of the New Testament used by Origen can be made out from his quotations. The great majority of those from Mark are found, naturally enough, in his commentaries on Matthew and John. There occur also a few quotations in his other works, especially De Principiis and the Exhortation to Martyrdom, but in many of his writings there are no quotations from Mark of sufficient definiteness to fix the character of the text.

In his book, "The Four Gospels," Streeter drew attention to the fact that the quotations represent two distinct textual types, one which may, roughly speaking, be called Neutral, the other consistently found only in Θ and its allies. He argued that this change of text is to be connected with Origen's change of residence from Alexandria to Caesarea; that he used the Neutral text in Alexandria and the Θ-text in Caesarea.

> In the surviving portions [says Streeter] of the first ten books of his *Commentary on John*, Origen used the BN text of Mark; but in the later books of this work, in his *Commentary on Matthew* and his *Exhortation to Martyrdom*, he used a text practically identical with that of *fam.* Θ. The *Commentary on John* was begun in Alexandria but finished at Caesarea, and both the other works mentioned were written at Caesarea (p. 78).

Again he says:

> Two points became clear. (*a*) The difference noticed by Griesbach between the use of an "Alexandrian" and of a "mixed" text of Mark corresponds to the change, not from the earlier to the later chapters of Mark, but from the earlier to the later books of the *Commentary on John*. (*b*) Both this "mixed" text of Mark and the so-called "Western" text used in the *Commentary on Matthew* and in the *Exhortation to Martyrdom* are practically identical with the text of *fam.* Θ. At once we notice the salient fact that the change in the text used corresponds, roughly speaking, to a change of residence (p. 92).

We know from Eusebius that Origen's De Principiis and the first five books of the Commentary on John were written in Alexandria, and that all the other books of the Commentary on John, as well as the Commentary on Matthew and the Exhortation to Martyrdom, were written in Caesarea.

Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* vi. 24, 1) says:

> ἐν μὲν τῷ ἕκτῳ τῶν εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην Ἐξηγητικῶν σημαίνει τὰ πρότερα πέντε ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἐτ' ὄντα συντάξαι.

The passage to which Eusebius here refers is *In Ioh.* vi. 2, 8 (p. 107 of the Berlin edition):

> καὶ μέχρι γε τοῦ πέμπτου τόμου, εἰ καὶ ὁ κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξανδρείαν χειμὼν ἀντιπράττειν ἐδόκει, τὰ διδόμενα ὑπηγορεύσομεν, ἐπιτιμῶντος τοῖς ἀνέμοις καὶ τοῖς κύμασι τῆς θαλάσσης τοῦ Ἰησοῦ· καὶ ἕκτου δὲ ἐπὶ ποσὸν προεληλυθότες ἐξειλκύσθημεν ἀπὸ γῆς Αἰγύπτου, ῥυσαμένου ἡμᾶς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἐξαγαγόντος τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπ' αὐτῆς. ἔπειτα τοῦ ἐχθροῦ πικρότατα ἡμῶν καταστρατευσαμένου διὰ τῶν καινῶν αὐτοῦ γραμμάτων τῶν ἀληθῶς ἐχθρῶν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἀνέμους τῆς πονηρίας καθ' ἡμῶν ἐγείραντος, στῆναι μᾶλλόν με πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα παρεκάλει ὁ λόγος καὶ τηρῆσαι τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, μήποτε μοχθηροὶ λογισμοὶ ἐξισχύσωσι τὸν χειμῶνα καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ μου ἐπεισαγαγεῖν, ἤπερ ἀκαίρως, πρὶν γαλήνην τὴν διάνοιαν λαβεῖν, συνάπτειν τὰ ἑξῆς τῆς γραφῆς· καὶ οἱ συνήθεις δὲ ταχυγράφοι μὴ παρόντες τοῦ ἔχεσθαι τῶν ὑπαγορεύσεων ἐκώλυον. νῦν δ'ὅτε τὰ καθ' ἡμῶν πεπυρωμένα πολλὰ σβεννύντος θεοῦ βέλη ἤμβλυνται καὶ ἐνεθισθεῖσα ἡμῶν ἡ ψύχη τοῖς συμβεβηκόσι διὰ τὸν οὐράνιον λόγον φέρειν ῥᾷον βιάζεται τὰς γεγενημένας ἐπιβουλάς, ὡσπερεὶ ποσῆς εὐδίας λαβόμενοι οὐκέτι ὑπερτιθέμενοι ὑπαγορεύειν τὰ ἀκόλουθα βουλόμεθα, θεὸν διδάσκαλον ὑπηχοῦντα ἐν τῷ ἀδύτῳ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν παρεῖναι εὐχόμενοι, ἵνα τέλος λάβῃ ἡ τῆς διηγήσεως τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίου οἰκοδομή. γένοιτο δ' ὁ θεὸς ἐπήκοος ἡμῶν τῇ εὐχῇ, εἰς τὸ συνάψαι δυνηθῆναι τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ὅλου λόγου, μηκέτι μεσολαβούσης περιστάσεως διακοπὴν τοῦ εἱρμοῦ τῆς γραφῆς ὁποίαν δήποτε ἐνεργήσασθαι δυναμένης. ἴσθι δὲ ὅτι ἀπὸ πολλῆς προθυμίας δευτέραν ταύτην ἀρχὴν ποιοῦμαι ἕκτου τόμου διὰ τὸ τὰ προϋπαγορευθέντα ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως μὴ κεκομίσθαι· βέλτιον γὰρ ἡγησάμην, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ἀπράκτως μοι τοῦδε τοῦ ἔργου παρελθεῖν καὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, ἤδη τῶν λοιπῶν ἄρξασθαι καὶ μὴ μετ' ἀδήλου τοῦ εὐρεθήσεσθαι τὰ προϋπαγορευθέντα ἡμῖν ἀναμένων, κέρδος οὐκ ὀλίγον ἀπολέσαι τὸ τῶν μεταξὺ ἡμερῶν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν αὐτάρκως πεπροοιμιάσθω· ἤδη δὲ καὶ τῆς λέξεως ἐχώμεθα.

These statements, though somewhat prolix, are quite clear. Only books i–v of the commentary on John were written in Alexandria, the rest was written in Caesarea. Therefore, if

Streeter's theory were wholly correct the change in text ought to come after book v, where the change in residence certainly comes. But it does not. It does not come until after book x, as Streeter himself points out elsewhere, though without fully seeing the importance of the difference.

Therefore, to make the facts clear, we have arranged the quotations from Mark in these books of Origen in the following six Lists: (1) the quotations in De Principiis and (2) in books i–v of the Commentary on John, which were written in Alexandria; (3) the quotations in books vi–x of the Commentary on John, written in Caesarea; (4) the quotations in the remaining books of the Commentary on John, written in Caesarea; (5) the quotations in the Commentary on Matthew, written in Caesarea; and (6) the quotations in the Exhortation to Martyrdom, written in Caesarea. To these Lists might be added an investigation of the work Contra Celsum, but the quotations in this are frequently indirect and we did not attempt the task of analyzing them.

(1) *Quotations from Mark in Origen, De Principiis*

(The pages and lines in parenthesis on the left are those of the Berlin edition.)

(205, 10) Mk. iv. 12 μη βλεπωσι pro βλεπωσι και μη ιδωσι c. Δ (cf. Mt., Lk.)
ακουσωσι (Codex B) pro ακουωσι c. CM 33 fam[13]
συνωσι (Codex D) pro συνιωσι c. DL fam[1]

(223, 12) iv. 12 μη βλεπωσι (see above)
om ακουωσι και c. 28 a
συνωσι (Codex D) (see above)

(47, 11; 138, 11) x. 18 deus + pater. This reading is not found in any manuscript but there is some evidence that it is an early Alexandrian reading known to Clement. In Paed. i. 8, 72 Clement says ου μην αλλ οπηνικα διαρρηδην λεγει· ουδεις αγαθος ει μη ο πατηρ μου ο εν τοις ουρανοις. In

Paed. i. 8, 74 he says αλλα και ουδεις αγαθος ει μη ο πατηρ. In Strom. v. 10, 63 and vii. 10, 58 he alludes to the same reading, and in Strom. ii. 20, 114 quotes the reading from Valentinus without rejecting it. Origen's preference for the reading is shown by his use of it in his Commentary on John and in the Exhortation to Martyrdom, written in Caesarea.

(2) *Quotations from Mark in Books i–v of the Commentary on John, written in Alexandria, and from the Commentary on Lamentations*

Commentary on John, Books i–v

(18, 18) Mk. i. 1 om υιου του θεου c. ℵ Iren Serap Bas Cyr^{hr} Hier Θ 28 Grg^{1}

2 καθως pro ως c. ℵBKLΔΠ Θ fam^{1} 565 700

εν ησαια τω προφητη pro εν τοις προφηταις c. D (ℵB etc.) Iren Serap it vg syr$^{pesh\ pal\ hcl\ mg}$ arm Θ fam^{1} 700 Grg

om εμπροσθεν σου c. ℵBKLΠDW a b c l q boh pesh aeth Θ 700.

(65, 15) iii. 29 εξει pro εχει c. c boh aeth Cyp

ουτε εν τουτω τω αιωνι ουτε εν τω μελλοντι pro εις τον αιωνα c. gat. This may be a composite quotation partly from Mark, partly from Matthew xii. 32.

(69, 14) x. 18 ο θεος + ο πατηρ (see above)

Commentary on Lamentations

(261, 4) xiii. 35 οιδας pro οιδατε

36 ευρησει pro ευρη c. 238 300 472

These lists of variants show that there is scarcely sufficient evidence to prove anything decisive about the character of the text of Mark used by Origen in Alexandria. The quotations in De Principiis and that in the Commentary on Lamentations

are little more than references, and the variants in them can hardly be taken seriously. The twice-repeated quotation from Mark x. 18, recurring as it does in the Commentary on John, both in the part written in Alexandria and in that written in Caesarea, and also in the Exhortation to Martyrdom, is of a different nature. As the evidence given above shows, it clearly seems to have been known to Clement of Alexandria. It is all the more remarkable that it is not found in any extant manuscript. This is one of the cases where one is inclined to doubt the judgment of Westcott and Hort, that there are no variations in the gospels due to doctrinal reasons.

Streeter's theory, therefore, that Origen used the Neutral text of Mark in Alexandria, must really rest on the quotation of Mark i. 1–3 in Book i. of the Commentary on John. But it is by no means sure that this passage does not really support an opposite conclusion. In the three verses are four variants from the Textus Receptus; their outstanding feature is not that they are found in Neutral MSS., but rather in Θ and its allies. All four are found in Θ: one of them is found in all early authorities, one in the Neutral text and the KΠ-group (K^a), one in ℵ (alone among the great manuscripts) and in Irenaeus, and the fourth is found exactly in D and in a slightly variant form in the Neutral text.

It would be absurd to base any certain conclusion on such slight evidence as this, but so far as it goes it suggests that the text of family Θ, rather than that of ℵB, was used by Origen in Alexandria.

(3) *Quotations from Mark in Books vi–x of the Commentary on John, written in Caesarea*

(135, 8) Mk. i. 2 om εμπροσθεν σου c. ℵBKLΠDW a b c l q boh pesh aeth Θ 700

(138, 32) 5 ιεροσολυμιται παντες και εβαπτιζοντο pro ιεροσολυμιται και εβαπτιζοντο παντες c. ℵBLΔ 33 D lat boh arm syr^{sin} Eus

(139, 1) υπ αυτου ante εν τω ιορδανη ποταμω c. ℵBL 33 lat vg arm Eus

(141, 7) om μου post οπισω c. B

i. 8 om *μεν* c. ℵBL 33 b c ff[1] q boh pesh arm Θ 565 Grg
om *εν* ante *υδατι* c. ℵBHΔ 33 vg Aug

(159, 26) 9 *εις τον ιορδανην υπο ιωαννου* c. ℵBL 33 D a b etc pesh Θ fam[13] 565 700

(171, 29) 13 om *εκει* c. ℵBALD 33 lat vg boh aeth Eus Θ (fam[13])
τεσσαρακοντα ημερας c. ℵBL 33 W a b etc vg boh aeth Eus Grg

14 om *της βασιλειας* c. ℵBL b c boh arm syr[hcl. cod] syr[sin] Θ fam[1] 28 565 Grg

15 om *και λεγων* c. ℵ c
om *εν* post *πιστευετε* c. 481 b f ff[1] g[2] vg

(180, 35) 21 *καφαρναουμ* c. ℵBΔ 33 DW it vg boh Θ fam[13] 565 700 Grg
ευθυς pro *ευθεως* c. ℵL 33 fam[1] 28 565 700
om *εισελθων* c. ℵCLΔ boh pesh fam[13] 28 565 Grg[1]
εδιδασκεν εις την συναγωγην c. ℵL 33 fam[13] 28 565 Grg[1]

(181, 3) 23 *ευθυς* c. ℵBL 33 fam[1] boh
ην post *αυτων* transp. c. C

24 *οιδαμεν* pro *οιδα* c. ℵLΔ boh arm aeth Eus Cyr[hr] Grg[2]
υιος pro *αγιος*

(181, 7) 26 *φωνησαν* pro *κραξαν* c. ℵBL 33

27 *απαντες* pro *παντες* c. ℵBL

(123, 1) vi. 16 om *ουτος εστιν* c. 33 f syr[pesh hcl mg]
απο των νεκρων pro *εκ νεκρων* c. C

(192, 28) xi. 1 *ιεροσολυμα* c. ℵBCLΔD it sah Θ fam[1] fam[13] 28 565 W

2 *ευθυς* pro *ευθεως* c. ℵBLΔ
ουδεις + *ουπω* c. BALΔ b f etc vg
εκαθισε pro *κεκαθικε* c. ℵBCLΔ
λυσατε pro *λυσαντες* c. ℵBCLΔ sah boh arm aeth syr[sin] Grg[1]
και φερετε pro *αγαγετε* c. ℵBCLΔ sah boh arm aeth syr[sin] Grg[1]

xi. 3 *ευθυς* pro *ευθεως* c. ℵBCLΔD
αποστελλει c. ℵABC etc D
4 *και απηλθον* pro *απηλθον δε* c. ℵBLΔ c k
om *τον* c. BALXΓΠD boh fam^{1} fam^{13} 565 700 W Grg^{2B}
5 *εστωτων* pro *εστηκοτων* c. MΓ minn. pl W
[cf. 204, 8] om *την* c. BLΔ sah boh arm Θ 565 W Grg
6 *ειπεν* pro *ενετειλατο* c. ℵBCLΔ (fam^{1} 28 W)
om *ο*
7 *φερουσι* pro *ηγαγον* c. BLΔ
επιβαλλουσιν pro *επεβαλον* c. ℵBCLΔD b etc boh arm Θ fam^{1} 28 565 700 W
om *και εκαθισεν επ αυτω . . .* 8 *εις την οδον* (1°)
8 *κοψαντες* pro *εκοπτον . . . και* c. ℵBLΔ sah
αγρων pro *δενδρων* c. ℵBLΔ sah boh syr$^{hcl\,mg}$
εστρωσαν pro *εστρωννυον*
9 om *λεγοντες* c. ℵBCLΔ c ff^{2} k sah boh
10 add *η* ante *βασιλεια*
om *εν ονοματι κυριου* c. ℵBCLUΔD it vg sah boh pesh arm syr^{sin} Θ fam^{1} fam^{13} 28 565 700 W Grg
11 om *ο ιησους και* c. ℵBCLΔ it boh Θ W
οψε pro *οψιας* c. ℵCLΔ
(191, 26; 193, 16; 204, 28) 15 om *ο ιησους* c. ℵBCL etc lat D syr$^{pesh\,hcl}$ arm aeth syr^{sin} fam^{1} W 28 565 700 Grg
κολλυβιστων + *ανεστρεψεν*
om *κατεστρεψε* (cf. fam. Θ)
17 *και ελεγεν* pro *λεγων* c. ℵBCLΔ k boh pesh aeth syr^{sin} fam^{13} Grg^{1}
πεποιηκατε pro *εποιησατε* c. BLΔ
(110, 9) xii. 26–27 (or Mt. xxii. 31 ff.) *ουκ ανεγνωτε το ρηθεν επι της βατου υπο του θεου· εγω θεος αβρααμ και θεος ισαακ και θεος ιακωβ; θεος δε ουκ εστι νεκρων αλλα ζωντων*
(213, 12) xiv. 60 om *το* ante *μεσον* c. ℵBCD etc
61 *ουκ απεκρινατο ουδεν* pro *ουδεν απεκρινατο* c. ℵBCL 33 sah boh aeth

This list gives practically the whole of the evidence on which Streeter actually relied for his contention that Origen used a Neutral text of Mark in Alexandria. It is indeed abundantly plain that the Neutral text was used in these books, but the evidence of Eusebius and of Origen (cf. pp. 259 f.) decisively proves that it was used not in Alexandria but in Caesarea. All these quotations are in books written after he had reached Caesarea. It should be noted that they do not consistently agree with any one manuscript of the Neutral family. A large number of them are found in all the authorities ℵBCLΔ. One variant is found only in C and one only in 33, but none is peculiar to either B or ℵ or to Bℵ, and none is of the curious 'Western' type noticeable in LΔΨ.

(4) *Quotations from Mark in the Commentary on John, Books xi–xxxii*

(409, 7) Mk. i. 24 οιδα] οιδαμεν c. Grg^{2} ℵLΔ boh aeth arm Eus

(561, 18) vi. 49 εδοξαν] εδοκουν
φαντασμα ειναι] οτι φαντασμα εστι c. ℵBLΔ 33

(386, 18) ix. 1 αμην] αμην αμην
om οτι
ωδε εστηκοτων] εστηκοτων ωδε c. fam^{1} pesh boh (ωδε εστηκοτων μετ εμου 565 D lat)

(361, 1) xii. 26 om δε
οτι εγειρονται ουκ ανεγνωτε] ουκ ανεγνωτε οτι εγειρονται
εγω] εγω ειμι c. MUΔ lat vg boh sah pesh arm aeth
ο θεος 2°] θεος c. D
ο θεος 3° et 4°] θεος c. BD
27 ο θεος] sic (cf. ο θεος θεος fam^{13} 33)
ζωντων sine θεος c. Θ 565 ℵBD etc lat pesh arm

(306, 19) 41 καθισας] εστως c. Θ fam^{1} fam^{13} 565 28 syr$^{hcl\ mg}$ arm
πας ο οχλος] και πας

xii. 41 *βαλλει*] *εβαλλεν* c. fam^{13} 28

42 *και ελθουσα*] *ελθουσα δε* c. Θ 565 D lat vg

43 *λεγει*] *ειπεν* c. Θ 565 ℵBLΔDKΠ a k sah boh

αυτη η πτωχη] *η πτωχη αυτη* c. Θ 565 D lat

βεβληκε] *εβαλε* c. Θ 565 ℵBALΔD 33 al

(407, 6) xiv. 10 *ο ισκαριωτης*] om *ο* c. 28 ℵBCD Eus (*ισκαριωθ* ℵBCLΘ)

εις] sic (cf. *εις εκ* D 565)

απηλθεν] *προσηλθεν* (non ita Eus^{dem})

om *αυτοις* c. Θ 28 565 Grg^{1} D a c k Eus^{dem}

(407, 9) 43 *και ευθεως*] om ut vid. c. Θ fam^{1} fam^{13} 565 700 D a c ff$_2$ k vg pesh arm

αυτου] *του ιησου*

ιουδας] add *ισκαριωτης* c. (Θ 700) fam^{13} 565 cf. D lat AKΠ

ων] om c. Θ fam^{13} 700 ℵBCLDKΠ al mu

παρα των αρχιερεων και των γραμματεων και των πρεσβυτερων] *παρα των γραμματεων και των φαρισαιων και πρεσβυτερων*

(407, 12) 53 *προς τον αρχιερεα*] *προς καιαφαν τον αρχιερεα* c. pesh (*τον αρχιερεα καιαφαν* Θ 565 fam^{13} arm AKΠ)

αυτω] om c. Θ fam^{13} 565 ℵLΔD

οι αρχιερεις και οι πρεσβυτεροι και οι γραμματεις] *οι αρχιερεις και γραμματεις και πρεσβυτεροι* c. (565) (ADKΠ) lat vg pesh arm

60 om *εις το μεσον*

61 *επηρωτα*] *επηρωτησεν* c. Θ 565 700 F al

αυτον] add *εκ δευτερου* c. Θ 565 fam^{13}

και λεγει αυτω] *λεγων* c. Θ 565 fam^{13} 700

62 *ειπεν*] *αποκριθεις λεγει* c. Θ 565 (fam^{1} fam^{13}) D arm sah

εγω ειμι] *συ ειπας οτι εγω ειμι* c. Θ 565 fam^{13} 700 arm

xiv. 63 διαρρηξας] add ευθεως c. 565 700 (fam^{13}?) arm

(407, 22) xv. 1 επι το πρωι] πρωι c. Θ 565 ℵBCLD lat sah boh pesh

ποιησαντες] εποιησαν . . . και c. Θ (565) D a c ff$_2$ k syr$^{pesh\ hcl}$ sah aeth

γραμματεων] των γραμματεων c. Θ 565 fam^{1} ℵD sah

απηνεγκαν] απηγαγον c. Θ 565 fam^{1} fam^{13}(?) 700 DCGN, et add εις την αυλην c. D a c k ff$_2$

τω πειλατω] om τω c. Θ 565 fam^{1} ℵBCLΔD al pauc

(407, 25) 3 πολλα] add αυτος δε ουδεν απεκρινατο c. Θ 565 fam^{13} ΔUN a c sah syr^{hcl} arm aeth

This list clearly shows that — as Streeter saw — after book x, and in quotations from Mark later than the middle of Mark xii, as is shown in the list given below, there is a change in the character of the text used. It suddenly becomes clearly identical with that of family Θ. That is to say, instead of consistently agreeing with ℵBCLΔ, it sometimes agrees with this group and sometimes with various 'Western' authorities, and in this oscillation it agrees with family Θ. In his Commentary on Matthew, which was written later, Origen continued to use this text for the quotations from Mark throughout that gospel, not merely for Mark xii ff. After this there was no further change in the character of his quotations, but, so far as we can see, this text was the text which he used for the rest of his life.

Griesbach thought that the variation in the type of text followed by Origen in his Commentary on John was due to a change in Mark xii in the character of the manuscript which he was using. His words — an admirable example of his lucidity and thoroughness — are worth quoting. He says in Part II of his *Commentarius Criticus*, pp. xxviii ff.

Si scripta Origenis, quae graece supersunt, universim spectas, textus locorum Novi Test. in ipsis laudatorum consonat plerumque ad textum codicum Evangeliorum BCL et Paulinarum epistolarum ABC; qui omnes cum Alexandrinam repraesentent textus recensionem, consequitur, codicem,

quo fere utebatur Origenes, ad eandem recensionem fuisse conformatum. . . . Ad eandem hanc alexandrinam recensionem pertinebat etiam Evangelii *Marci codex, qui praesto fuit Origeni commentarium in I o a n n i s Evangelium scribenti.* Docet id lectionum indiculus supra a me exhibitus et litera A insignitus. Sed paullo distinctius haec exponenda sunt. Nempe *a*) Origenes in commentario in Ioannem e capitibus Marci II. III. IV. V. VII. VIII. XIII. et XVI. prorsus nullos, e capp. vero VI. IX. X. et XV. perpaucos, tandem e capp. I. XI. XII. et XIV. sat multos excitavit locos, cujus rei causa posita est potissimum in eo, quod major pars commentarii hujus interiit, Origenes autem tum demum laudare solet Marcum, ubi parallelos apud Ioannem locos tractat. *b*) Codex Origenianus in capp. I. VI. IX. X. XI. (et probabiliter etiam in II. III. IV. V. VII. VIII.) plane consonavit alexandrinis; inprimis memorabiles sunt capitis XI. versiculi 1–12 quos Origenes Opp. tomo 4, p. 181. integros excitat, et ita quidem, ut in ipsis adeo minutiis alexandrinis libris BCL tantopere concinnat, ut hos ipsos ante oculos positos habuisse videre possit; contra vero *c*) in capp. XII. XIV. XV. (et fortasse etiam in XIII. et XVI.) exemplar, de quo hic loquimur, Origenianum non fuit pure alexandrinum, sed admixtas habuit lectiones non paucas occidentales aliasve. Itaque *d*) exemplar istud e duabus partibus fuerat conflatum, altera pure alexandrina, altera itidem quidem alexandrina, sed mixta. *e*) Quod ad lectiones attinet utrique recensioni communes, et in codicibus BCL aeque atque in D. 1. 13. 28. 69. obvias, hae in allegationibus Origenianis ei, quam quoquo loco potissimum sequitur Origenes recensioni ergo, in commentario in Ioannem, alexandrinae, in comment. autem in Matthaeum, occidentali, attribuendae sunt.

Streeter, however, explained the facts as entirely due to a change of residence on the part of Origen, rather than to a variation in the manuscript used. But Griesbach's observation is accurate. According to our collation the change comes in the middle of Mark xii. Everything after that point comes from the Θ-text; nothing before it can be clearly shown to do so; and this is true of passages quoted by Origen after he has begun to use the Θ-text of the later chapters of Mark, as well as before. The first clear instance of the Θ-text in the Commentary on John is from Mk. xii. 41 on p. 306, but on p. 361 in quoting xii. 26 ff. there are six variants, one of them being in the Θ-text; on p. 386 is a quotation from Mk. ix. 1 with three variants, two unattested, the other (εστηκοτων ωδε pro ωδε εστηκοτων) in fam^{1} pesh boh; and on p. 409 there is a variant in the quotation of Mk. i. 24, found in ℵLΔ, but not in any Caesarean Greek MSS., though it is found in the Georgian, Armenian, and Eusebius, and on p. 561 there are two variants, neither of them with Caesarean support.

On the whole the evidence, though not enough to be conclusive, suggests that Griesbach was at least partly right and that the change of text in the quotations from Mark in the commentary is to be explained as due to a difference in the text of Origen's copy of Mark before and after the middle of chapter xii. But the quotations from Mark xiv in the earlier parts of the Commentary on John are not from the Θ-text, so that Griesbach's theory is not sufficient by itself. The truth is probably a combination of Griesbach's and Streeter's theories; but it is perhaps impossible to reconstruct the situation in detail. In any case it is obvious from the following list that Origen afterwards found a copy which had the Θ-text throughout and used it exclusively in his commentary on Matthew.

(5) *Quotations from Mark in the Commentary on Matthew*

(The references are to the pages of De la Rue's edition.)

(769 D) Mk. i. 2 εγω] om cod. unus c. Θ 28 565 Grg[1] BD lat Iren
αποστελλω] αποστελω (sed cod. unus αποστελλω habet) c. Θ

(540 D) 17 om γενεσθαι c. fam[1] fam[13] 28 700 Grg[2] b pesh syr[sin] aeth Eus

(835 BC) iv. 1 παλιν ηρξατο] coepit iterum c. 565 D a b c aeth
παρα την θαλ.] ad mare (= προς την θαλασσαν) c. D
οχλος] populus (= λαος?) c. D
ωστε κ. τ. λ.] ut intraret in navem et
προς] secus (= παρα) c. fam[1]

2 εν τη διδαχη αυτου] om c. b c e (cf. εν παραβολαις λεγων και ελεγεν αυτοις εν τη διδαχη αυτου 28, apparently a conflation)

3 ακουετε] om c. minn pauc
om ιδου

(835 D) 10 οτε δε] et cum (= και οτε) c. Θ 565 ℵBCLΔD lat vg

iv. 10 *εγενετο*] fuissent
ηρωτησαν] interrogabant (= *επηρωτων*) c. Θ 565 D (ℵABLΔ) a b
οι περι . . . παραβολην] discipuli quae esset parabola haec c. Θ 565 28 fam^{13} Grg^{2} D a b c ff$_{2}$

(446 C) 30 *τινι*] sic (contra ℵBCLΔ Grg^{1}) c. Grg^{2}
ποια] *τινι* c. ℵBCLΔ boh
παραβολη παραβαλωμεν] *αυτην παραβολη θωμεν* c. ℵBCLΔ 28 Grg^{1}

vi. 1 *ηλθε*] sic c. 565 700 fam^{1} fam^{13} AΠ al pler (contra ℵBCLΔΘ syr$^{hcl\ mg}$)

(466 C) 5 *δυναμιν ποιησαι*] *ποιησαι δυναμιν* c. 565 fam^{13} (?) D

(479 C) (510 A) 39 *αυτοις ανακλιναι παντας*] *αυτοις παντας* (*πασιν* 479 C) *ανακλιθηναι* c. Θ 565 (cf. *αυτοις ανακλιθηναι* 700; *αυτοις ανακλιθηναι παντας* ℵBG fam^{1} fam^{13})

40 *ανα πεντηκοντα*] om *ανα*

(482 F) 45 *προαγειν*] *προαγειν αυτον* c. Θ 565 fam^{1} fam^{13} 28 700 D
προς] *εις* c. Θ 565 fam^{1} 28 700

(494 C) vii. 4 *πολλα*] *τινα*

(494 D) 19 *καθαριζον*] *καθαριζων* c. Θ 565 fam^{1} fam^{13} 28 ℵBLΔEFGH etc. (contra KΠ etc). It is noteworthy that this cannot be a mistake in spelling; Origen says *ελεγε ταυτα ο σωτηρ καθαριζων παντα τα βρωματα.*

(502 C) 24 *απηλθεν*] *ηλθεν* c. 565 700 28 M arm
μεθορια] *ορια* c. Θ 565 fam^{1} fam^{13} 28 700 ℵBLΔD
και σιδωνος] om Θ 565 28 DLΔ a b ff$_{2}$

(560 A) ix. 3 *και ταιματια αυτου εγενετο*] *γινονται τα ιματια αυτου*
στιλβοντα λευκα] *λευκα και στιλβοντα* cf. Θ 565
om *λιαν* c. Δ b g^{2} aeth go Grg^{2}

ix. 3 *ως χιων*] *ως το φως* c. 48 (cf. Matth. xvii. 2) (cf. om *ως χιων* Grg[1])
λευκαναι] *ουτως λευκαναι* c. Θ 565 fam[13] 28 Grg ℵBCLΔ 33 k ff$_2$ boh sah arm aeth

(560 C) 6 *λαλησῃ*] *απεκριθη* c. ℵ (cf. *αποκριθη* 565 fam[1] 28 700 Grg BCLΔ 33 boh k)

(596 C) 34 *τις μειζων*] *τις αυτων μειζων εστι* (cf. *τις αυτων μειζων γενηται* Θ 565, *τις αυτων μειζων ειη* fam[13] k ff$_2$ vg, *τις μειζων γενηται αυτων* D [boh aeth syr[hcl]])

35 *πρωτος ειναι*] *πρωτος γενεσθαι* (cf. supra)

36 *αυτο*] om c. Θ 565 fam[1] 28 Grg[2B] arm
αυτων] *των μαθητων αυτου*

37 om *τοιουτων*

(659 A) x. 13 *παιδια*] *και βρεφη*

(664 D) 18 *εις ο θεος*] sic sine *ο πατηρ* cf. cit. in Comm. in Joh.

(670 C) 20 *εφυλαξαμην*] *εφυλαξα* c. 28 DA Clem (cf. *εποιησα* 565 fam[1])

(713 A) 35 *λεγοντες*] *και λεγουσι* c. Θ 565 D a (cf. et dixerunt Grg)

(732 A and 735 C) 46 *ερχονται*] *ερχεται* c. D a b ff$_2$
απο ιεριχω] *εκειθεν* c. Θ 565 700 D a b ff$_2$
υιος] *ιδου ο υιος* c. fam[13] 28 c f l
ο τυφλος] *τυφλος* sine *ο* c. 124 ℵBLΔD

(735 D) 47 *ναζωραιος*] *ναζαρηνος* c. Θ fam[1] BLΔ a b c k (cf. *ναζωρινος* 28, *ναζορηνος* D)

(734 A and D) *ο υιος*] *υιος* bis c. 69 DK, et *υιε* bis c. Θ ℵBCLΔ (possibly the later quotations refer to vs. 48)
ιησου] om c. Θ Grg L al pauc

(734 B) 49 *και φωνουσι τον τυφλον*] *οι δε προσταχθεντες ειπον* (cf. *οι δε ειπον τω τυφλω* 565 [D])

(734 D) 50 *αναστας*] *αναπηδησας* c. Θ 565 ℵBLΔD lat syr[hcl mg] boh

(737 A) xi. 1 *εγγιζουσι*] sic c. Θ 565 700 etc (contra fam[13])

xi. 1 ιερουσαλημ] ιεροσολυμα c. Θ 565 fam^{1} fam^{13} 28 W ℵBCLΔD

εις βηθφαγη και βηθανιαν] και εις βηθανιαν c. D a b ff$_2$ (cf. εις βηθανιαν 700 k)

(744 B) 2 κεκαθικεν] εκαθισε c. Θ 565 700 ℵBCLΔ

(740 B) 3 τι ποιειτε τουτο] τι λυετε τον πωλον c. Θ 565 700 fam^{13} D a b ff$_2$ arm (cf. om tot. comma fam^{1} W Grg syr^{sin})

(744 D) 4 απηλθον δε και ευρον] και απελθοντες ευρον c. Θ 565 700 Grg D b f boh pesh

τον πωλον] πωλον c. fam^{1} fam^{13} 565 700 W BDALXΓΠ etc

(744 D) 10 εν ονοματι κυριου] om c. Θ 565 700 fam^{1} fam^{13} 28 W Grg ℵBCLΔD etc

ωσαννα] ειρηνη c. 28 700 W syr^{sin}

(762 D) 13 συκην] post μακροθεν c. W D

μακροθεν] απο μακροθεν c. Θ 565 700 28 fam^{1} fam^{13} W Berl^{fr} ℵBCLΔD

(762 D and 763 A) ει αρα ευρησει] ως ευρησων τι c. Θ 565 700 Grg^{2} Berl^{fr} a f q

και ελθων] ελθων δε c. 565 Berl^{fr} a f ουδεν ευρεν] και μηδεν ευρων c. 565 a q

φυλλα] φυλλα μονον c. fam^{13} (28) 565 D 700 W N 33 b c q aeth

(764 B) καιρος] ο καιρος c. 700 W D

14 om ο ιησους c. Θ 565 fam^{1} fam^{13} 28 700 Grg ℵBDKΠ etc

(763 A) εκ σου εις τον αιωνα] εις τον αιωνα εκ σου c. Θ 28 565 ℵBLCΔD arm syr^{sin}

φαγοι] φαγη c. fam^{1} fam^{13} 28 W D

(791 B) 18 οι γραμματεις και οι αρχιερεις] οι αρχ. και οι γρ. c. Θ 565 fam^{1} 28 700 W Grg ℵBLΔDAKΠ etc

απολεσουσι] απολεσωσι c. codd paene omn

ο οχλος] ο λαος c. Θ 700

(764 B) 21 λεγει] ειπεν c. Θ 565 700 Grg syr^{sin}

om ραββει

ιδε] ιδου c. D

xi 21 εξηρανται] εξηρανθη c. Θ 565 700 fam^{1} LΔ 33 D

(774 E) xii. 1 αμπελωνα εφυτευσεν ανθρωπος] ανθρωπος τις εφυτευσεν αμπελωνα c. Θ 565 fam^{13} Grg^{2} N pesh sah

(825 A) 24 ειδοτες] γινωσκοντες c. D

(829 C) 27 ο θεος νεκρων] ο θεος θεος νεκρων c. Θ fam^{13} Grg^{2A} 33 al pauc

(870 E) xiii. 27 επισυναξει] congregabunt c. LMF al arm cf. επισυνστρεψουσι 28

εκλεκτους αυτου] om αυτου c. 565 28 fam^{1} D lat

(893 F) xiv. 6 τι αυτη κοπους παρεχετε] nolite ei molesti esse c. Grg$^{1\,(2A)}$

καλον εργον] quoniam bonum opus (cf. καλον γαρ εργον c. 565 fam^{13} 28 Grg ℵG syr$^{hcl\,mg}$ boh arm)

(895 D) 12 οτε το πασχα εθυον] quando pascha immolabatur

απελθοντες] eamus et c. Grg

ετοιμασωμεν] praeparemus tibi c. Θ 565 Grg DΔ lat vg pesh

φαγης] manducemus

13 αποστελλει] misit c. Grg

μαθητων] ex discipulis c. Grg D lat vg

και λεγει αυτοις] dicens c. Θ 565 700 D a ff$_2$ sah

και απαντησει] et ingredientibus vobis occurret (cf. και εισελθοντων υμων εις την πολιν απαντησει Θ fam^{13} 565 28 Grg^{2A} arm)

om ακολουθησατε αυτω

14 om οτι c. 700 lat pesh sah arm

καταλυμα] add meum c. fam^{1} fam^{13} 28 Grg ℵBCLΔD al syr$^{hcl\,mg}$ arm

το πασχα μετα των μαθητων μου φαγω] cum discipulis meis manducem pascha c. 565 (D) a ff$_2$

xiv. 14 *μεγα εστρωμενον*] stratum magnum c. (D lat)

(909 D) 55 *εις το θανατωσαι*] ut eum morti traderent c. Θ 565 Grg D *ινα θανατωσουσιν* (*-ωσιν* 565)

56 *εψευδομαρτυρουν*] falsum testimonium dixerunt (cf. *εψευδομαρτυρουν και ελεγον* D) c. lat vg

μαρτυριαι] testimonia eorum c. Grg[1] 69 sah boh pesh

57 *και τινες*] alii autem c. Θ 565 fam[13] 700 (cf. *και αλλοι* D k a ff$_2$; et alii quidam Grg[2])

εψευδομαρτυρουν λεγοντες] falsum testimonium dicebant c. d d ff$_2$ (cf. *εψευδομαρτυρουν και ελεγον κατ αυτου* D)

58 *καταλυσω*] solvo c. AΠ* go

οικοδομησω] faciam

(917 A) 61 *χριστος*] om c. Grg[2] Γ k

(715 A) 62 *καθημενον εκ δεξιων*] *εκ δεξιων καθημενον* c. Θ 565 700 Grg[1] ℵBCLΔD etc

(928 F) xv. 39 *εξ εναντιας αυτου*] ibi c. Θ 565 D n i (iuxta eum Grg[1])

ουτως κραξας] clamans c. Θ 565 Grg

ο ανθρωπος ουτος] hic homo c. Θ 565 ℵBLΔD 33 k n ff$_2$ boh pesh

This list fully confirms Streeter's view that Origen used the text of family Θ. Moreover, unlike the evidence of the quotations in the Commentary on John (Lists 2, 3, and 4), it is quite homogeneous, and shows the same type of text throughout.

(6) *Quotations from Mark in the Exhortation to Martyrdom*

(45, 18) Mk. iv. 16 om *ομοιως* c. Θ 565 fam[1] fam[13] 28 700 D lat pesh arm

17 om *αυτον* c. Θ fam[1] fam[13] 28 565 700 arm

ειτα] *επαν*

σκανδαλιζονται] *σκανδαλιζωνται*

(46, 1) iv. 20 παραδεχονται] αποδεχονται c. Θ 565
ἓν ter] ἐν ter c. fam^{1} fam^{13} 700 33 EFGHKΠUV

(12, 13) viii. 34 οστις] ει τις c. 565 700 ℵBC*LΔDsyr$^{hcl\ mg}$ lat arm
ελθειν] ακολουθειν c. Θ 565 700 fam^{1} 28 C*DX al mu lat aeth

35 ψυχην αυτου] εαυτου ψυχην c. B
om την ψυχην αυτου 2° c. a b i arm
om εμου και c. 700 a b i n arm aeth
om ουτος c. Θ 565 700 ℵBCLDKΠ lat boh arm aeth

36 γαρ] δε
ανθρωπον] τον ανθρωπον c. Θ DACΠ

37 η τι] τι γαρ c. 565 28 ℵBLΔ boh arm

(34, 15 and 31, 9) 38 om ταυτη
om αυτου

(34, 15) των αγιων αγγελων c. min. pauc

(9, 5) x. 18 Θεος] θεος ο πατηρ (see note on pp. 261 f.)

xiii. 11 αγαγωσι] αγωσι c. Θ 565 700 ℵBLΔDKΠ
προμεριμνατε] add μηδε προμελετατε c. (Θ 565) 700
εν εκεινη] εκεινη
τουτο] εκεινο c. 565 fam^{13} 28 k

(25, 28) xiv. 36 παντα δυνατα σοι] δυνατα σοι παντα (cf. δυνατα παντα σοι D 565)
ποτηριον απ εμου τουτο] ποτηριον τουτο απ εμου c. Θ 565 700 ℵBCLΔAGXU arm

No one will doubt that these variants show the same general agreement with family Θ which is characteristic of the quotations from Mark in the commentary on Matthew. There are, however, a somewhat large number of singular variants, which may be due, and in some cases almost certainly are due, to the textual history of the Exhortation to Martyrdom, but may also point to the conclusion suggested by the Berlin fragment, namely, that there are a certain number of Caesarean variants which have been eliminated by correction in all the extant MSS.

It is also noteworthy that Origen repeats the characteristic Alexandrian variant (θεος ο πατηρ) in Mark x. 18.

The whole evidence shows two points clearly, and suggests other possibilities. It is clear that (1) Origen used the Neutral text in the books of the Commentary on John which he wrote soon after his arrival in Caesarea; (2) in his later writings he used the text of family Θ. It is possible that he used either the Neutral text or the text of family Θ while in Alexandria; there is not enough evidence to settle the point, but what there is somewhat favors family Θ. There is also one striking variant which would connect his text with that used by Clement of Alexandria. Thus, so far as the evidence of Origen is concerned, there is no reason to suppose that he used the Neutral text in Alexandria, and then abandoned it, or was unable to find it, in Caesarea. On the contrary, it is certain that he used the Neutral text during his first years in Caesarea, and it is quite doubtful whether he ever had used it before. Moreover the possibility cannot be entirely excluded that he used the text of family Θ in Alexandria, just as he did later on in Caesarea when he was fully settled down after his rather hurried departure from Alexandria. If so, it follows that although the usage of Origen and Eusebius — typically Caesarean writers — justifies us in giving the name Caesarean to the text of family Θ, it may be only because Origen brought it to Caesarea, not because he found it there; in that case the text which he found in Caesarea was the Neutral text.

Finally, it is perhaps desirable to reiterate the warning previously given, that these conclusions are based only on a study of the text of Mark. The facts may prove to be entirely different in the other gospels.

Eusebius

The quotations in Eusebius from the gospel of Mark are chiefly found in the Demonstratio Evangelica and in the Syriac Theophania. The tables which follow give the quotations from Mark in these two books collated with the Textus

Receptus. They prove beyond doubt that the text used by Eusebius in writing these books was the same as that found in a slightly corrupt form in family Θ.

The quotations from the Theophania are of the same general character as those in the Demonstratio. It is of course antecedently probable that the translator was influenced by existing Syriac versions, but the date of the manuscript (411 A.D.) precludes the possibility that he was influenced by the Peshitto. For further discussion of this point see p. 321.

(1) *Quotations from Mark in the Demonstratio Evangelica*

(The references are to the pages and lines of the Berlin edition.)

(416, 5) Mk. i. 2 ιδου . . . εμπροσθεν σου] sic

(417, 8) 4 εν τη ερημω βαπτιζων c. Θ 28 700 D lat vg pesh Cyr
ιεροσολυμιται παντες c. 565 Grg^{2} ℵBLΔ 33 D lat boh arm syr^{sin} Orig
υπ αυτου ante εν τη ιορδανη c. Grg ℵBL 33 lat vg arm
om ποταμω c. Θ 28 565 700 DW pesh Orig

(418, 34) 13 om εκει c. Θ (fam^{13}) ℵBALD 33 lat vg boh aeth Orig
τεσσαρακοντα ημερας hoc ordine c. Grg ℵBLW 33 lat vg boh aeth Orig
add και τεσσαρακοντα νυκτας c. fam^{13} LM 33 c ff^{2} g^{1} vg boh syr$^{hcl\,mg}$ aeth Orig

(141, 17.22) 17 ακολουθειτε μοι pro οπισω μου
om γενεσθαι c. fam^{1} fam^{13} 28 700 Grg^{2} b pesh syr^{sin} aeth Orig

(263, 37) 24 οιδα] οιδαμεν c. Grg^{2} ℵLΔ boh arm aeth Orig

(454, 24) iv. 34 παντα] απαντα c. Δ

(451, 19) xiv. 10 om ο ante ιουδας c. 28 ℵBLΔD etc
αυτον παραδω c. fam^{13} ℵBCLΔ
habet αυτοις (cf. infra)

(461, 27) om αυτοις c. Θ 28 565 Grg^{1} D a c k Orig

(451, 22) 11 om ακουσαντες c. D a c ff^{2} i k

(451, 19) xiv. 11 *αυτον ευκαιρως* c. ΘℵABCLMΔ a c f k vg

(127, 32 ff.) 66 om *κατω* c. 565 fam^{13} Grg DI syr^{sin} a c sah boh Eus^{theo}

ερχεται] add *προς αυτον* c. Θ D a c ff^{2} (k) Eus^{theo}

67 *τον πετρον*] *αυτον* c. fam^{1} fam^{13} 565 700 Grg c syr^{sin} pesh arm Eus^{theo}

του ναζ. ιησου ησθα] *ιησου του ναζ. ησθα* hoc ordine c. DΔ lat vg arm aeth syr^{hcl}

ναζαρηνου] *ναζωραιου* c. Θ Δ Grg^{1} arm ff^{2}

ησθα] *ης* fam^{1} fam^{13} 565 700 W

68 *ουκ . . . ουδε*] *ουτε . . . ουτε* c. Θ W 565 fam^{1} 700 Grg^{1} ℵBD

εξω εις το προαυλ.] *εις την εξω προαυλ.* c. Θ (fam^{1} 565 700 W) Grg^{2} syr^{sin} arm Eus^{theo}

προαυλιον] *προαυλιν* c. Θ fam^{13} (*αυλην* fam^{1} W)

69 *και η παιδισκη ιδουσα αυτον παλιν ηρξατο*] *παλιν δε ιδουσα αυτον η παιδισκη ηρξατο* c. Θ 565 700 D c f k vg arm syr^{sin} Eus^{theo}

παρεστηκοσι] *παρεστωσι* Θ ℵBLΔΚΠ etc

om *οτι* (*οτι και* Θ fam^{13} 700 Grg D a c ff^{2} pesh arm aeth, *και* sine *οτι* syr^{sin})

70 *ηρνειτο*] *ηρνησατο* c. 565 fam^{1} fam^{13} 700 W Grg Δ GMNX lat sah boh syr^{hcl} arm

om *και η λαλια σου ομοιαζει* c. fam^{1} 565 700 Grg ℵBCLD lat sah boh syr^{sin} (non pesh arm)

72 *εκ δευτερου*] *ευθεως εκ δευτερου* Θ fam^{13} (565) W Grg D G (et *ευθυς εκ δ.* B) lat vg pesh arm aeth (non Eus^{theo})

(480, 14) xv. 29 *παραπορευομενοι*] *παραγοντες* c. D

οικοδομων] add *αυτον*

καταβα] *καταβηθι* c. fam^{1}

31 om *δε* c. paene omn

προς αλληλους] *εις αλληλους* c. Θ 565 D

xv. 32 *πιστευσωμεν*] add *αυτω* c. Θ fam^{1} fam^{13} 700 Grg DFGH lat sah pesh arm

(474, 8) 33 *ολην την γην*] *ολης της γης* c. Θ D

34 *τη ωρα τη ενατη*] *τη ενατη ωρα* c. Θ fam^{1} fam^{13} (565) Grg ℵBLDF pesh aeth

ελωι ελωι] *ηλι ηλι* c. Θ 565 D c i k arm

λαμμα] *λεμα* c. ℵCLΔ al (*λαμα* BDΘ fam^{1} Grg^{2} arm)

ο θεος μου ο θεος μου] *ο θεος ο θεος μου* c. ΘAKΠ etc

με εγκατελιπες] *εγκατελιπες με* c. 124 Grg ℵBL boh

35 *των παρεστηκοτων ακουσαντες*] *των ακουσαντων*

ιδου] om c. Θ D c k pesh

(388, 8) 38 *εσχισθη*] *ερραγη* c. Grg (cf. rendering in xiv. 63)

(474, 31) xvi. 2 *της μιας*] *τη μια* c. Θ fam^{1} 565 (W) ℵBLΔ 33 boh

σαββατων] *των σαββατων* c. Θ 565 fam^{13} WℵBLΔK 33

ανατειλαντος] *ετι ανατειλαντος* c. Θ fam^{1} 565 W Grg^{2} KΠ

3 *εκ*] *απο* c. Θ fam^{13} WCD

μνημειου] add hoc loco *ην γαρ μεγας σφοδρα* c. Θ 565 D c ff^{2} n

4 *και αναβλεψασαι . . . λιθος*] *και ερχονται και ευρισκουσιν αυτον αποκεκυλισμενον* c. Θ 565 D c ff^{2} n (sed *αποκεκ. τον λιθον* pro *αυτον αποκεκ.*)

(2) *Quotations from Mark in the Theophania*

(An obelus indicates readings not found in the Demonstratio. The references to the text are from Lee's edition, and those to the translation from Gressmann's edition in the Berlin corpus.)

(Text 204, 8. 10 f.) (Transl. 251, 25. 30) Mk. i. 17 om γενεσθαι] (note 'catchers of men' here and in Georgian, rather than 'fishers') c. fam^{1} fam^{13} 28 700 Grg b syr^{sin} pesh aeth Eus^{dem}

(Text 200, 1–9) (Transl. 247, 12–23) xiv. 66 πετρου] Simon c. pesh (non syr^{sin})

om κατω c. 565 fam^{13} Grg DI syr^{sin} a c ff^{2} sah boh Eus^{dem}

ερχεται] †vēnit

ερχεται] add ad eum c. Θ D a c ff^{2} (k) Eus^{dem}

αρχιερεως] †principum sacerdotum

67 τον πετρον] eum c. fam^{1} fam^{13} 565 700 Grg c pesh syr^{sin} arm Eus^{dem}

λεγει] †add ei c. syr^{sin} pesh boh aeth

μετα του ναζαρηνου ιησου ησθα] †cum Jesu fuisti Nazareno c. ℵ syr^{sin} pesh

68 ο δε] †et ille

λεγων] †et dixit c. syr^{sin} pesh Grg arm

εξω εις το προαυλιον] in atrium externum c. Θ 565 700 fam^{1} fam^{13} arm Grg^{2} syr^{sin} Eus^{dem}

69 και η παιδισκη ιδουσα αυτον παλιν ηρξατο] et rursus vidit eum ancilla et coepit c. Θ 565 700 D c f k vg arm syr^{sin} Eus^{dem}

τοις παρεστηκοσι] †stantibus

οτι] †et quia cf. οτι και fam^{1} fam^{13} Grg D a c ff^{2} pesh arm aeth; et (pro οτι) syr^{sin}; om οτι Eus^{dem}

70 ο δε] et ille c. Grg^{2} k

ηρνειτο] negavit c. fam^{1} fam^{13} 565 700 Grg Eus^{dem} Δ etc lat sah boh syr^{omn} arm

ελεγον] †dixerunt c. L c ff^{2}

πετρω] †Simoni

και η λαλια ομοιαζει] om c. fam^{1} 565 Grg Eus^{dem} ℵBCLD lat sah boh syr^{sin} (non pesh arm)

xiv. 71 ομνυειν] †dicere c. D q (cf. execrari et jurare et dicere arm)

72 εκ δευτερου αλεκτωρ εφωνησε] †cecinit gallus secunda vice

The patristic evidence adduced in the preceding paragraphs, especially that of Eusebius, proves that the method followed in the Tables (pp. 213–246) gives a reasonably accurate presentation of the text used in Caesarea in the third century.

The text of Origen and Eusebius confirms the theory that our existing manuscripts have been corrected in varying ways by later texts. It will be seen that the text quoted by them is found sometimes in one, sometimes in another of the witnesses which have been examined. Moreover these witnesses agree with the quotations in approximately the same way that our Tables had led us to expect. Θ 565 700 and the Georgian version stand out as distinctly more important than the others. Each of the inferior MSS., tested by the standard of Origen and Eusebius, is occasionally right against generally better members of the family, but a text based on Θ 565 700 Grg alone would probably represent the text of Caesarea at the end of the third century almost as well as a text based on the Latin manuscripts a b i ff^2 would represent the European Old Latin text used in the century before Jerome. In producing such texts the editor would be obliged to give alternative possibilities in his margin.

The text of Mark xiv. 66–72a as given in Eusebius, Demonstratio Evangelica, p. 127.

The degree of accuracy actually reached by our tabular method will appear different to different minds; therefore as a 'control experiment' we have taken the longest single quotation from Mark made by Eusebius and printed it with an apparatus giving the evidence for the variants in which Eusebius' quotation differs from the Textus Receptus. This method of presentation shows more clearly how far a text reconstructed by our methods would be corroborated by Eusebius, and how much variation within the family may reasonably be expected. The quotation as found in Eusebius runs as follows:

Mark xiv. 66–72a

(66) και οντος του Πετρου εν τη αυλη ερχεται προς αυτον μια των παιδισκων του αρχιερεως (67) και ιδουσα αυτον θερμαινομενον εμβλεψασα αυτω λεγει· και συ μετα Ιησου του Ναζωραιου ης. (68) ο δε ηρνησατο λεγων· ουτε οιδα ουτε επισταμαι τι συ λεγεις. και εξηλθεν εις την εξω προαυλιν και αλεκτωρ εφωνησεν. (69) παλιν δε ιδουσα αυτον η παιδισκη ηρξατο λεγειν τοις παρεστωσιν· ουτος εξ αυτων εστιν. (70) ο δε παλιν ηρνησατο. και μετα μικρον παλιν οι παρεστωτες ελεγον τω Πετρω· αληθως εξ αυτων ει, και γαρ Γαλιλαιος ει. (71) ο δε ηρξατο αναθεματιζειν και ομνυειν οτι ουκ οιδα τον ανθρωπον τουτον ον λεγετε. (72) και ευθεως εκ δευτερου αλεκτωρ εφωνησεν.

66 του 1° c. ς] om 700 W

εν τη αυλη c. 565 fam^{13} Grg DI al pauc a c ff$_2$ sah boh syr^{sin}: κατω εν τη αυλη ΘℵBCLU pesh arm: εν τη αυλη κατω fam^{1} ς

προς αυτον c. Θ 700 D a c ff$_2$ k q: om 565 fam^{1} ℵB etc ς

67 αυτον c. 565 fam^{1} fam^{13} 700 Grg syr^{sin} c pesh arm: τον πετρον ΘℵB etc ς

και συ c. ς] και ει συ 565, και εσυ 565$^{corr.}$

ιησου του ναζωραιου c. Grg^{2} D (ναζαρηνου) Δ (του ιησου) lat hcl aeth arm: του ναζαρηνου ιησου fam^{1} 565 Grg^{1} ς: του ναζωραιου ησθα του ιησου ΘℵB etc

ης c. 565 700 fam^{1} fam^{13} W: ησθα ΘℵB etc ς

68 ουτε 1° c. Θ 565 700 Grg^{1} WℵBDL: ουκ fam^{1} ς

ουτε 2° c. Θ 565 700 fam^{1} fam^{13} Grg WℵBDL: ουδε ς

τι συ c. ς: συ τι W fam^{1} 565 ℵBCLΔNU 33

εις την εξω προαυλιν c. Θ (W fam^{1}) fam^{13} Grg arm: εις το εξω προαυλιον 565: εις την εξω προαυλιον 700: εις την εξω αυλην W fam^{1}: εξω εις το προαυλιον ς

69 παλιν . . . παιδισκη c. Θ 565 700 D lat arm: και η παιδισκη ιδουσα αυτον παλιν Grg^{1} fam^{1} ς: om παλιν W

παρεστωσιν c. Θ 565 ℵBCIKLΔΠ* al plur^{10}: παρεστηκοσι W 700 ς

ουτος] οτι και ουτος Θ 565 700 fam^{13} a c ff$_2$ pesh arm aeth: οτι και αυτος D: οτι ουτος fam^{1} Grg ς

70 ηρνησατο c. 565 700 W fam^{1} fam^{13} Grg FGMNXΔ: ηρνειτο ΘℵB etc ς
παρεστωτες c. ς: περιεστηκοτες W: περιεστωτες fam^{1} Grg^{1} G
ει sine addit. c. 565 fam^{1} 700 Grg ℵBCLΔD lat sah boh syr^{sin}: add και η λαλια σου ομοιαζει Θ ς
71 ομνυειν c. ς: ομνυναι 700
72 ευθεως c. Θ W 565 700 fam^{13}: ευθυς ℵBL: om fam^{1} ς

The text of Eusebius agrees with the Caesarean family against the Textus Receptus with the support of ℵBD 3 times, of ℵB 2 times, D 3 times without other major support. This corresponds closely to the general character of the Caesarean text.

Furthermore the apparatus shows that, with two exceptions, every reading in which Eusebius departs from the Textus Receptus is found in the Greek MSS. of the Caesarean family. Of these two exceptions one is probably accidental, the other, by a curious accident of transmission, is found in G^{2}. In addition, one variant where the Textus Receptus and Eusebius are in agreement occurs in 565 (και ει συ in vs. 67), but is almost certainly a mistake, and another of like character in 700 (ομνυναι in vs. 71), but four other readings require some comment. (*a*) In vs. 66, the omission of του, found in 700 W, may be accidental and is scarcely important. (*b*) In vs. 68, συ τι for τι συ, found in 565 W fam^{1} and in ℵBCLΔ 33, may well be the right reading. (*c*) In vs. 69, the reading of Eusebius (ουτος without οτι) is unique; but Θ 565 700 fam^{13} read οτι και ουτος, which is also without support in any major Greek manuscript (though D reads οτι και αυτος), and since this reading is indicated in the Theophania of Eusebius, we should certainly edit it as the Caesarean text, regarding the variant in the Demonstratio as merely accidental. (*d*) In vs. 70, περιεστωτες (for παρεστωτες) is read in fam^{1} and the Georgian, and is virtually supported by W (περιεστηκοτες), so that it is conceivable that this is the true Caesarean text.

Turning to individual manuscripts, a study of the support given to Eusebius by the various manuscripts of the Caesarean family yields the following results. The total number of vari-

ants from the Textus Receptus in this passage of Eusebius is fourteen. In these 14 cases the Eusebian reading is supported by

565	10 times
700	9 "
Georgian	8 "
Θ	7 "
W	6 "
fam. 13	7 "
fam. 1	6 "
28	0 "

It will be seen that except in the case of 28, which seems to have changed its character, these figures correspond with considerable accuracy to those obtained (see above, p. 253) when the Caesarean text is reconstructed by the elimination of readings found in the Textus Receptus. There is only one variant which is not found in one of the group 565 Θ Georg, and though Θ comes out of the statistics for this short passage less well than out of those for the longer stretch of three chapters, and the Georgian and 700 come out a little better, 565 appears, as elsewhere, to be the best single witness.

We submit that in view of the accidents of transmission in the text of a patristic writing for which we have no manuscripts earlier than the tenth century this is a closer agreement between the text of Eusebius and the family manuscripts than we had any right to expect.

III. The Evidence of the Oriental Versions

1. *The Georgian Version*

In such study of the Georgian Bible as has hitherto been made, more attention has been devoted to the Old Testament than to the New Testament. The chief reason for this is that for the Old Testament we possess the ancient and fairly complete Athos manuscript, written in the year 978,[1] and that upon it the interest of scholars has concentrated.[2] The New Testament has hardly been touched; the only detailed discussion which has yet appeared in print is F. C. Conybeare's study of the text of Acts and of the Pauline epistles.[3] It has been shown that in both the Old and New Testaments the Georgian translation belongs fundamentally to the northern Oriental group of versions, and is especially close to the Armenian and the Syriac, but that it has also been subjected to direct Greek influence. Up to the present time the gospels have been but little studied, but reason has been shown for concluding that they were not translated by the same writers who worked on

[1] This is the Athos Codex Iveron No. 1; first described in detail by A. A. Tsagareli, Свѣдѣнія о памятникахъ грузинской письменности. Выпускъ I, СПБ. 1886, pp. 1 ff.; cf. also N. Marr, Изъ поѣздки на Аѳонъ. Журналъ Министерства Народнаго Просвѣщенія, 1899, March, T. 322, pp. 1 ff., and Th. D. Žordania, Описаніе грузинскихъ рукописей Тифлисскаго Церковкаго Музея Карталино-Кахетинскаго Духовенства, т. II (Tiflis, 1902 г.), pp. 35–41, with Blake's remarks in Harvard Theological Review, XIX, 1926, pp. 285–286. A detailed description of the MS. will shortly be published in this Review.

[2] The chief studies of the Old Testament in Georgian are from the pen of N. Y. Marr in the series entitled Замѣтки по священному писанію древнихъ армянъ и древнихъ грузинъ (Христіанскій Востокъ, 2 (1914), 163–179, 263–274; 3 (1915) 249–262; 4 (1916) 229–245); particularly important is his article: Эч'міадзинскій фрагментъ древне-грузинской версіи Ветхаго Завѣта, ibid., 2 (1914), 378–388; cf. also R. P. Blake, 'Ancient Georgian Versions of the Old Testament,' Harvard Theological Review, XIX, 1926, pp. 271–297.

[3] In particular Conybeare's study, 'The Growth of the Peshittâ Version of the New Testament, illustrated from the Old Armenian and Georgian Versions,' in American Journal of Theology, I, 1897, pp. 883–912, and also, 'The Georgian Version of the New Testament,' in Zeitschrift f. d. neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, XI, 1910, pp. 232–249, and 'The Old Georgian Version of Acts,' ibid., XII, 1911, pp. 131–140; further bibliography is given by J. H. Ropes, The Text of Acts (The Beginnings of Christianity, vol. III), pp. clxxxii–iii.

the other books of the Bible.[4] The extant complete manuscripts of the Old Georgian New Testament, which were written before the eleventh century, are numerous.[5] In all cases there seems to be a separate manuscript tradition for the gospels and the Pauline writings, and until modern times they are never found bound together. Revelation, which, strictly speaking, never became canonical among the Georgians,[6] seems to have been first translated by St. Euthymius the Athonite (circa 978 A.D.),[7] and is connected with the Greek branch of the tradition and not with the Oriental.[8] The first version of the gospels and of the New Testament in general must go back to the very beginning of Christianity in Georgia.[9]

[4] This point is especially emphasized by R. P. Blake in the article cited in note 2, especially pp. 288, 290 ff.

[5] We give a partial list below (note 21), without making any pretensions to completeness.

[6] This point is very interesting, and forms a striking contrast to the Greek tradition.

[7] We possess two old MSS. of this translation, which is noted among the works of Euthymius in his vita (P. Peeters, Histoires monastiques géorgiennes, Bruxelles, 1923, pp. 8 ff.). Both of them belong to the 10th century, and must very probably have been copied from the archetype. The first is No. 1346 of the Society of History and Ethnography in Tiflis, which was written on the Bithynian Olympus in the monastery of Kranion in the year 978. This MS. was formerly in the monastery of Shio-Mghwimé (see Bibliographie analytique des ouvrages de M. F. Brosset, St. Petersburg, 1887, col. 292). The MS. is by the same hand as the Athos Apostolos (Tsagareli, No. 11, Свѣдѣнія I, pp. 76 f.) from which Conybeare published the fragments of Acts (above, note 3). Conybeare ascribes the Athos MS. to the 13th century; its real date is 965. Euthymius is mentioned in the Tiflis MS., but without any title. The date of the MS. has caused some question, as it does not fit in with the customary chronology of the saint's life, but this latter needs rectification, as K. Kekelidze has shown (ქართული ლიტერატურის ისტორია I, ტფილისი, 1923, pp. 183–184). The text on which the version rests is derived from that of the commentary of Andreas of Caesarea (which follows the text in the MS.), and is a late type (as Mr. H. C. Hoskier kindly informs us). Photographs of this MS. are in the J. P. Morgan collection of MS. photographs at Harvard. The second MS. is No. 397 of the Ecclesiastical Museum at Tiflis (Žordania, Описаніе I, pp. 392–395). The text is of the same type, as Blake has determined from personal observation. A series of late (18–19th century) copies also exist at Tiflis, also a MS. of an earlier date on Mt. Sinai (No. 85 = 90, Tsagareli, cf. his Свѣдѣнія II, p. 97). Another type of text is contained in the printed text of the Moscow Bible, but its textual affiliation has not been studied.

[8] This is due presumably to Armenian influence. See F. C. Conybeare, The Armenian Version of Revelation, London, 1907, pp. 61 ff.

[9] A detailed study of the sources and tradition, both Georgian and extraneous, is given in the recent article of K. Kekelidze, ქართველთა მოქცევის მთავარი

Some recent discoveries have thrown unexpected light on the earlier history of the Georgian gospels and have added a new and interesting chapter to the history of Georgian literature. At about the same time Professors I. A. Djavakhishvili and R. P. Blake became interested in a Georgian-Hebrew palimpsest fragment which had been published many years earlier by P. K. Kokovtsov.[10] He had deciphered the Hebrew text from the photograph, but the Georgian under-writing was not legible. Blake found the original at Oxford and began to study it with reference to its biblical text,[11] while Djavakhishvili was led to investigate the photograph in Kokovtsov's article in searching for manuscript evidence to attest certain peculiar forms of Georgian letters which he had observed in the oldest Georgian inscriptions.[12] Meantime Professor A. G. Shanidze had been studying these inscriptions, and had called attention to certain dialectal peculiarities which appeared in them.[13] When Djavakhishvili and Blake set to work to decipher the text, they discovered that it was written in a new dialect, or

ისტორიულ-ქრონოლოგიური საკითხები, მიმოხილველი I (ტფილისი 1926), pp. 1–53, now published also in German, Morgenland, Heft 18, Leipzig, 1928. An earlier critical study by ი. ჯავახიშვილი, ძველი ქართული საისტორიო მწერლობა[2] (Tiflis, 1921), pp. 73–91. Other literature in K. Kekelidze, ქართული ლიტერატურის ისტორია I, pp. 569 f., and A. von Harnack, Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums, 1902, pp. 470 f.

[10] The photograph was received by Professor N. Marr with no name on the cover of the package, but it subsequently transpired that it had been sent to him by F. C. Conybeare. The photograph was not perfectly clear as far as the Georgian text is concerned, and the Hebrew text, which belongs to the Jerusalem Talmud, was published by P. K. Kokovtsov, to whom Marr turned it over, in the Записки Восточнаго Отдѣленія Русскаго Археологическаго Общества, vol. XI, 1899, pp. 195–205, and p. 413 note. A brief description of it is given in A. Neubauer and A. H. Cowley, Catalogue of the Hebrew MSS in the Bodleian Library, vol. II, Oxford, 1906, under No. 2672 (col. 74).

[11] It is also listed as MS. Georgian 2.

[12] ი. ა. ჯავახიშვილი, ახლად აღმოჩენილი უძველესი ქართული ხელთნაწერები და მათი მნიშვნელობა მეცნიერებისა თვის (წინასწარი მოკხენება ნიმუშებისა და სურათებს დართვით). Bulletin de l'Université de Tiflis II (Tiflis, 1922–23), pp. 313–391, with 15 plates.

[13] ა. გ. შანიძე, უძველესი ქართული ტექსტების აღმოჩენის გამო; Bulletin de l'Université de Tiflis II, pp. 392–424.

perhaps it would be safer to say, it contained forms which differed radically from those met with in most Old Georgian manuscripts, but which were akin to those found in the oldest inscriptions.[14] This discovery led to further investigations. Blake, inspired by a reference in J. O. Wardrop's [15] Catalogue of Georgian Manuscripts in the British Museum, examined the Genizah fragments at Cambridge,[16] and found among them three more fragments of the same manuscript as the Oxford leaf; another probable fragment is in the British Museum. Djavakhishvili studied the Tiflis palimpsests, where he brought to light and published about twenty leaves with texts of the new type.[17] His new texts were all biblical in character, from both Testaments, with the exception of a fragment of a book of apocryphal Acts of the Apostles.[18] To these codices and their

[14] Djavakhishvili, ახლად აღმოჩენილი ურველესი ქართული ხელთნაწერები, pp. 317 ff.

[15] F. C. Conybeare and J. O. Wardrop, Catalogue of the Armenian and Georgian MSS in the British Museum, London, 1913, p. 406.

[16] In connection with this our thanks are due to Professor F. C. Burkitt, who gathered together the scattered material before Blake's arrival and aided in identifying the vagrant and elusive passages. The manuscript fragments in question are in the Taylor-Schechter collection in the Cambridge University Library, Nos. 12, 183 and 12, 741; and contain Jeremiah 12, 10–17 and 27, 26–28, 6. They unquestionably belong to the same manuscript as the Bodleian leaf, which, though bought in Jerusalem, came from Cairo.

[17] Exactly how many leaves in this dialect have survived in the Tiflis MSS. is not quite clear from Djavakhishvili's somewhat inconsistent statements; see N. A. Hencko in the article cited below, note 51, p. 369. Some recent discoveries of A. G. Shanidze have increased the scope of khanmeti literature considerably. A number of bits from John Chrysostom have come to light (from the readings for Lent), and furthermore the former Sinai MS. No. 9 (Tsagareli, Свѣдѣнія II, pp. 57–58), which is now in the University Library of Graz, proves to be a fragment of a khanmeti lectionary. Shanidze has published the Chrysostom fragments under the title ხანმეტი მრავალთავი in Bulletin de l'Université de Tiflis, VII (1926), 98–159, and is publishing the other document in facsimile.

[18] The texts published by Djavakhishvili contain the following passages:

	(*a*) Old Testament
(1) Gen. 9, 11–14. 17–19	Hist. Eth. 999, f. 85^{v}–87^{r}
(2) Prov. 9, 1–4	ibid. f. 141^{r}, f. 144^{v}
(3) Jer. 27, 26–27; 28, 2–8	Oxford leaf
	(*b*) New Testament
(1) Matt. 6, 31–34	Hist. Eth. 999
7, 1–15	122^{v}–128^{r}, 139^{v}–134^{r}, 127^{r}–135^{r}, 135^{v}–138^{v}, 139^{r-v}
7, 4–16	Eccl. Mus. 844, f.?

significance for the biblical text we shall return below. Though the exact date of the fragments is for the moment a matter of acrimonious controversy, they are certainly older than any extant complete Georgian manuscript of the Old or New Testament.

Georgian gospel manuscripts fall into three distinct groups, the second of which may in turn be subdivided into two sections. They are discussed in order of age:

1. The Adysh Gospels,[19] written at Šatberd in Tao-Klardjet'ia in the year 897, is the second oldest dated Georgian manuscript now extant.[20] It differs greatly from all other Georgian manuscripts of the gospels in style and language, and to some extent in readings. For its history readers may be referred to Blake's edition of the text of Mark, published in the Patrologia Orientalis, 1928, where the facts are given in detail. There is no doubt that the text of the newly discovered dialectal fragments described above is closely related to this codex.

In the following discussion and tables the Adysh Gospels are referred to either by the symbol 'Ad.' or by 'Georgian[1] (G[1]).'

2. The second group comprises a series of manuscripts, belonging for the most part to the tenth century and almost without exception written in capitals.[21] Of these only two have

(2) Mk. 9, 43–50	ibid., f. 42[v]
(3) Lk. 2, 18–23	ibid.
6, 31–32. 34	Eccl. Mus. 89, p. 790
11, 42–44	Eccl. Mus. 844, f. 88
15, 22–28	Eccl. Mus. 844, f. ?
19, 1–8	Hist. Eth. 999, f. 128[v], 130[r]–131[v]
19, 43–47; 20, 1	Eccl. Mus. 844, f. ?
(4) Jn. 21, 7–17	Eccl. Mus. 844, f. ?
Acta Petri seu Pauli	Eccl. Mus. 737, pp. 330, 339, 322

[19] The literature on this MS. is given by R. P. Blake in 'The Old Georgian Version of the Gospel of Mark,' Patrologia Orientalis, t. XX, fasc. 3, Paris, 1928, Introduction, pp. 439 ff.

[20] The oldest is the Sinai MS. of the year 864; see below, p. 372, note 64.

[21] The following partial list makes no pretense to completeness:

(1) The Adysh Gospels (A.D. 897) at Adysh in Svanetia. Phototypic edition by E. Takaïshvili (MAK, Выпускъ 14, Moscow, 1916).

(2) The Opiza Gospels (A.D. 913) at Iveron on Mt. Athos. See N. Marr, Изъ поѣздки на Аѳонъ, ЖМНП 322 (March, 1899), pp. 13–15. Used by Beneševič in his edition of the text of Matthew and Mark.

(3) The Djruč Gospels (A.D. 936). Now in Tiflis. See M. Brosset, Bibl. Analytique, col. 307.

been the subject of thorough study: the Opiza manuscript (913 A.D.) and the Tbet' manuscript (995 A.D.).[22] These form the basis of the only critical edition of the Georgian gospels hitherto published, that of Professor V. N. Beneševič.[23] The basic text in his edition is that of the Tbet' manuscript, the variants of the Opiza manuscript being given in the apparatus. The variation between the two manuscripts is usually not very great.[24] Both show a reinfection of Greek readings,[25] presumably derived from manuscripts of the K-type.[26] Of the two, the text of the Tbet' MS. is the more fully revised, although the Opiza MS. [27] has itself been again corrected, by a later reader, from the Athonite recension.[28] So far as we can judge, the two were revised independently,[29] and the two revisions do not seem to bear a close relation to the alterations based on the Greek which we find in the Armenian manuscripts of the same period (below, pp. 304–307). The most striking difference betweenthe two codices is that the Tbet' manuscript contains Mark xvi. 9–20, omitted in the Opiza manuscript and also in the

(4) The Urbnisi Gospels (10th cent.) at Tiflis, Žordania, Описаніе, I, pp. 21–23 (No. 28).

(5) The Cqarost'avi Gospels at Tiflis, Žordania, pp. 116–117 (No. 98).

(6) The P'arkhal Gospels (A.D. 970), now at Tiflis; cf. E. Takaïshvili, МАК 12, pp. 139–151.

(7) The Sinai Gospels No. 15 = 8 Tsagareli (A.D. 978); cf. A. A. Tsagareli, Свѣдѣнія II, p. 57.

(8) The Sinai Gospels 16 = 7 Tsagareli (A.D. 992); l. c., p. 56.

(9) The Tbet' Gospels at Leningrad (A.D. 995), used by Beneševič in his edition; cf. Tsagareli, Свѣдѣнія I, pp. 17–22.

[22] The literature dealing with these MSS. is cited in the introduction to Blake's edition of Mark (cf. note 19), pp. 443 f.

[23] Quattuor Evangeliorum Versio Georgiana vetus. E duobus codicibus (aa. p. Ch. n. 913 et 995) edidit Vladimir Beneševič: fasciculus I, Evangelium secundum Matthaeum; fasciculus II, Evangelium secundum Marcum, Petropoli, 1909, 1911 (title also in Russian and Georgian).

[24] This can best be seen by glancing through the apparatus of Beneševič's edition.

[25] The influence of the Greek text is observable in the structure and turn of the Georgian phrase rather than in specific Hellenisms.

[26] We shall return to this point below (pp. 301–302). This influence appears to have come in by way of the Armenian.

[27] See below, p. 302.

[28] See N. Marr, Изъ поѣздки на Аѳонъ, ЖМНП, T. 322 (March 1899), pp. 10 f., and Beneševič's apparatus, passim.

[29] We have discussed this point below, pp. 304–307.

Adysh Gospels.[30] These two manuscripts are, however, not isolated examples or peculiar types. We possess at least one other codex of each type: the so-called Cqarost'avi or K'san Gospels belongs to the Opiza group, while the Urbnisi manuscript falls in line with the Tbet' codex.[31] Thus we have clear evidence of two recensions, both of which go back to Tao-Klardjet'ian sources. Undoubtedly the other manuscripts of this period belong in large measure to these two groups, although it is possible that other recensions and hybrid manuscripts may still be discovered. Until the individual manuscripts have been examined, all hypotheses as to their character must remain provisional.[32]

In the following discussion and tables this recension is called 'Georgian^2 (G^2),' and the Opiza codex is referred to as 'A,' the Tbet' codex as 'B.'

3. The third group, to which belong the great majority of the manuscripts, including (with one exception [33]) all the minuscule gospels, is the only one to which a reviser's name can be definitely attached. This recension was the work of the Athonite school of translators, and one manuscript, the so-called Alaverd Gospels,[34] contains the statement that its text is that

[30] See Blake's Georgian text of Mark, Patrologia Orientalis XX, fasc. 3, pp. 573 f.

[31] This point was made by the late H. Goussen, 'Die altgeorgische Bibelübersetzung,' in Oriens Christianus VI, 1906, pp. 300–318, on the basis of the article of Dimitrii Bakradze, Древніе Варіанты Грузинскаго Четверо-Евангелія, Труды V-го археологическаго Съѣзда, Tiflis, 1887, pp. 215-220. Goussen (p. 317) prints a photograph of the *desinit* of Mark in Codex A. Brief descriptions of the MSS. in question in Th. Žordania, Описаніе, I, No. 28 (pp. 21–23, the Urbnisi MS.) and No. 98 (pp. 116–117, the Cqarost'avi MS.).

[32] The Georgian scholar A. S. Khakhanov had been working before his death on the history of the Georgian gospels, but had only published the theses which he intended to sustain. Takaïshvili repeats them in the introduction to his edition of the Adysh Gospels (Предисловіе, p. 1, note 1). Some scattered passages from photographs of Tiflis MSS. are given in the article of Conybeare cited above, p. 232, note 3. Much material on the gospels has been collected by M. G. Djanashvili, but has never been published.

[33] The exception is formed by the tenth-century MS. No. 4927 of the Society for the Extension of Literacy among the Georgians. An investigation of the text of this MS. would be highly desirable.

[34] A.D. 1054, written on the Black Mountain near Antioch, now MS. 484 of the Ecclesiastical Museum at Tiflis. This is a magnificent codex with gorgeous miniatures and illuminations of the Byzantine type; on it see Th. D. Žordania, Описаніе II,

of St. Euthymius the Athonite. There is no reason to doubt this,[34a] but such brief inspection of the text as has been made shows that it is almost identical with that of St. George the Athonite.[35] This latter text, probably to be dated between the years 1040 and 1050, became the vulgate of the Georgian church,[36] and was followed almost without deviation by the later manuscripts. It is printed in the Bible Society's most recent edition of the Georgian gospels with a fair degree of accuracy, such as cannot be claimed for all the older editions.[37] We know that this vulgate text was revised directly from the Greek,[38] and the presumption is that the manuscripts used for the revision were of the K-type.[39] It is not, however, in any sense a fresh translation, but probably a revision of the text of St. Euthymius, which in its turn was a revised version of the Tao-Klardjet'ian types.[40] We know of no further revision of the

pp. 46–51. On St. Euthymius and his work, see P. Peeters, Histoires monastiques géorgiennes, Bruxelles, 1923, pp. 8 ff.; პ · კეკელიძე, ქ · ლიტ · ისტ. I, Tiflis, 1923, pp. 182 f. and some additional considerations by R. P. Blake, Journal of Theological Studies, October, 1924, pp. 54–57.

[34a] It is not included in the list of his works in the vita (Peeters, pp. 34–36).

[35] This impression was confirmed by information from M. G. Djanashvili.

[36] On George the Athonite, see P. Peeters, Histoires monastiques géorgiennes, pp. 69 ff.; კეკელიძე, ქ · ლიტ · ისტ, pp. 212 f.; and R. P. Blake, Journal of Theological Studies, 1924, pp. 57–58. The chief point of difference is that the pericope adulterae (Jn. 7, 57–8, 13) appears in this text, but in none of the earlier ones (Khakhanov, cited by E. S. Takaïshvili, p. 1, note 1).

[37] So Father K. Tsintsadze, who had charge of the printing of the recent editions, informed Blake. That this is true for the Tiflis edition of 1913 in Acts was verified by Blake, who collated the MS. Eccl. Mus. 584 (A.D. 1083), a copy of George's autograph (cf. Žordania, l.c., II, pp. 97–99).

[38] This is specifically stated in George's vita (Peeters, p. 110).

[39] This is not a mere guess, but a deduction from the following facts:

(1) The vast majority of the Greek gospel MSS. on Mt. Athos are of the K-type, and according to von Soden a sub-species (K^r) seems to have originated there.

(2) The recension of the liturgical books produced by George was based on that of Constantinople (Peeters, p. 95), and Constantinople is the centre of the K-recension.

[40] A detailed proof of this contention would lead us too far afield. Definite confirmation from the gospel text cannot be adduced, but the apostolic writings afford a cogent parallel. The older text of this section of the New Testament seems to show such uniformity that we can take it to be a definite recension. The three oldest MSS. are as follows:

(1) Athos, Iveron No. 11, A.D. 965. Some pages of this are published in facsimile from photographs taken by K. Lake for F. C. Conybeare in the latter's article, 'The

gospels in Georgian by any writer later than George the Athonite, though the gospel text was translated in the lemmata of the commentaries of Theophylact of Bulgaria and in other works from the pens of John Čimčimeli and the later scholastics.[41] No continuous revised text, however, was ever issued by them.

Of these three families the third is relatively unimportant for the reconstruction of the Greek text of the gospels, but the first and second, having been corrupted in divergent ways, are both important. By comparing them we can approach more closely to the original version, and thus to the Armenian from which it was made.

The exact date of the original Georgian is, however, an obscure subject to which we have devoted an Excursus.

We have now to discuss the sources of the Georgian version itself. There can be no possible doubt that it was derived directly from an Armenian original. This, however, was not identical with the printed Armenian text nor even with the text of the oldest extant Armenian MSS.[42] Its existence nevertheless is demonstrated by a series of errors or misunderstandings in the Georgian which can only have arisen in Armenian;

Old Georgian Version of Acts,' Zeitschrift f. d. neutest. Wissenschaft, XII, 1911, pp. 131–140. He ascribes them to the 13th century, but in fact they are of the year 965 and were written in the monastery of Kranion on Mt. Olympus in Bithynia by the same scribe who wrote the MS. of the Apocalypse (A.D. 978), now Cod. 1346 of the Society of History and Ethnography in Tiflis. Photographs of Cod. 1346 are in the J. P. Morgan Collection at Harvard.

(2) and (3) The other two MSS. are in Tiflis in the Library of the Society for the Extension of Literacy among the Georgians, Nos. 407 and 1139 (= Eccl. Mus. 346). Both these have Euthalian apparatus, and both are of the 10th century. The text is very similar in all the three MSS.

Now the text of George is evidently based on the earlier version. The alterations consist for the most part in the addition of points omitted in the earlier MSS. The language, style, etc., are perfectly similar. George revised carefully on the Greek rather than retranslated, completing and rectifying the work of Euthymius. Similar conditions seemed to have prevailed in the descent of the gospel text.

[41] On these and similar works see პ. კეკელიძე, ქ. ლიტ. ისტ, I, pp. 57 ff., and the fragments of texts published by მ. ჯანაშვილი, ქართული მწერლობა II, pp. v–xxxxiv; see Blake in Journal of Theological Studies, 1924, pp. 59–60.

[42] See below, pp. 305 f.

in some cases their Armenian prototypes have survived in our present Armenian, in others they have been eradicated. A large number of passages might be cited,[43] but a selection of the most striking points will suffice:

(1) The use in the sense of the French *il y a* of the verb დგომაჲ, დგმაჲ *dgomay*, *dgmay*, meaning in Georgian 'to stand.' This use arises from the double sense of կայ *kal* in Armenian, which means both 'to stand' and 'to exist.' Cf. Mk. viii. 2, 18, etc.

(2) The use of the Armenian word չիշ *šiš*, 'bottle,' 'jar,' in Mk. xiv. 3. This word, homophone with the Georgian შიში *šiši*, 'fear,' would probably have been incomprehensible to the later Georgians.[44]

(3) The expression ფერჴი დაიბყრა (Mk. x. 49), 'he stopped, halted.' The Georgian literally means 'he seized his foot,' and is sheer nonsense. The printed Armenian, however, gives զտեղի առ literally, 'he held his place'; evidently the idiomatic double sense of the verb առ 'held,' 'took,' escaped the translator.

(4) Most striking of all, however, is a passage in John ii. 15. The Adysh has the amazing expression[45] და ბილნძი თესლის მფლობელთაჲ მათ განუბნია 'and the copper of the seed-sellers he scattered.' The Armenian has եւ զպղինձս հատավաճառացն ցրուեա՛ց; that is, the syllable հատ *hat* in հատավաճառաց *hatavačaṙac'* had become disconnected, was understood as հատ *hat* 'seed,' and was so translated: T. R. καὶ τῶν κολλυβιστῶν ἐξέχεε τὸ κέρμα.

An attentive reading of the Georgian will show a large number of places where the structure of the phrase is evidently derived from that of the Armenian, but these we can pass over here. Likewise no account is taken of the Armenian loan-words found in the Georgian, inasmuch as it has long since

[43] See the passages cited in Blake's edition of Mark, Patrologia Orientalis, XX, p. 416, note 1.

[44] The word is used in the Armenian. The Georgian construction is wholly puzzling until the Armenian is compared. The later Georgian MSS. read ალაბასტრი with the Greek ἀλάβαστρον.

[45] The text of A and B is not yet published; the passage is on plate 159b of the Adysh MS.

been pointed out that these words were in current usage in the Georgian dialect into which the original translations were made. Not infrequently we find in the corresponding places in the Armenian text words different from those which appear in the Georgian. With the exception of special instances, this type of evidence is not pertinent.

The superior antiquity of the form of the version as preserved in the Adysh MS. is deducible from the general method of the translator. This can best be seen by reading the text of the Adysh Gospels, keeping an eye at the same time on the apparatus of the revised codices. Even the Latin rendering reveals the turns of Greek phraseology in the lemmata drawn from the Opiza and Tbet' Gospels and cited in the apparatus criticus. The text of the Adysh MS. follows a different model. Now and again a word is misunderstood or clumsily translated, but the more complex constructions which appear in the revised codices are absent from the Adysh. Simple parataxis, avoidance of participial constructions, and a tense-usage which is native and primitive, are striking tendencies of the translator of the Adysh. Greek loan-words are absent, except for such as are also common both to Syriac and to Armenian. A striking instance in point occurs in Mk. xiv. 20, where the Georgian[46] has ბინაკსა *pinaksa*, 'platter,' from the Greek πίναξ, while all Greek MSS. have the reading τρυβλίον.

For various reasons (see Excursus II) Meskhian influence may be suspected in this codex. The chief phenomenon, which occurs sporadically in other manuscripts but is here very widespread, is a great uncertainty in the use of the three letters, ვ *v*, უ *u* and ჳ *w*, *üi*. The comparative grammar of the Caucasian languages shows that in Georgian the *v* has developed from various antecedents, and that it is sometimes stable, sometimes unstable. On the whole, Old Georgian orthography in normal manuscripts is relatively consistent in the use of these letters, but the Adysh MS. shows considerable unsteadiness in this regard, which in turn implies an unstable tradition and probably also an unstable dialectal pronunciation. It has

[46] All three MSS.

ჳ for ვ
ჴ for ვ
ჳვ for ვ
ჳ for ჴ
ჳი for ჴ

These are not vulgarisms, but evidently represent some local dialect, and there is some reason to believe that this phenomenon was true of the speech of Meskhia.[47] It is also evident that the scribe had no steady tradition about the use of the letter ე *ey* η. -ე *-e* stems are mostly written without *ey* in the nominative, and the letter appears sporadically in places where it is not justified by the rules of Old Georgian grammar. The language on the whole is distinctly archaic. We find a series of 'vulgarisms' (mostly, perhaps, apparent and not actual), such as plurals in -ები *-ebi*, წუსწუთს 'continually' (in Cod. I of the Old Testament), and the like, but along with them a series of rare words, the translation of which is sometimes highly doubtful: შეჳგუსნეს 'collapse,' საარებულნი 'going' or 'interfered with,' ატრბანა 'to writhe,' დაწყნარებულად 'clearly,' etc.[48]

The variants given in our tables make, we think, reasonably clear the connections between the Adysh MS. and the codices from Opiza and from Tbet.' The amount of verbal difference, of alteration in vocabulary and syntax, is very considerable; the divergences in textual readings are fairly numerous but far less abundant than the verbal differences. Nevertheless the vocabulary and style of all three MSS. manifest a fundamental kinship, just as the khanmeti fragments in their turn evince a common ancestry with the Adysh codex. The common ancestor of the entire clan must have had a strongly Caesarean text, but in its descendants a number of Caesarean readings have been revised out by the influence of Ecclesiastical MSS. The following tables will illustrate this point:

[47] It is clear that (1) ჳ *u* in closed syllables, (2) ჴ *ü w* in general, came to be represented as ვ and ვი in the Meskhian dialect, as we can see from Šota's work. Certain Tao-Klardjet'ian MSS., such as Eccles. Mus. No. 95 (10th cent.), show considerable variation (N. Marr, Дѣянія трехъ св. близнецовъ мучениковъ Спевсиппа, Еласиппа Меласиппа, ЗВО xvii (1906), pp. 285–344). In the majority of cases the normal tradition is meticulously maintained; hence I am inclined to think that the scribes came from the adjoining areas.

[48] Doubts as to the rendering of certain of these were cleared up by Professor N. Marr.

Tables of Readings from the Caesarean Text in the Georgian Version of Mark i, vi, and xi

In these tables the families described above (pp. 290–292) are referred to as Georgian[1] (G^1) and Georgian[2] (G^2).

1. *Caesarean Readings found in* G^1 and G^2

Mk. i. 2 *εν τοις προφηταις*] *εν ησαια τω προφητη*
8 om *μεν* post *εγω*
10 *απο*] *εκ*
caelos apertos
11 *εν ω*] *εν σοι*
12 *εκβαλλει αυτον* hoc ordine
13 om *εν τη ερημω*
σατανα] *διαβολον*
14 om *της βασιλειας*
16 *περιπατων δε*] *και παραγων*
βαλλοντας αμφιβληστρον] *αμφιβαλλοντας τα δικτυα*
22 post *γραμματεις* add *αυτων*
25 *εξ*] *απ'*
26 *εξ*] *απο*
27 om *τις*
28 *εξηλθε δε*] *και εξηλθε*
om *ευθυς*
31 post *πυρετος* add *ευθεως*
33 *την θυραν*] *τας θυρας*
34 post *αυτον* add *χριστον ειναι*
38 *εξεληλυθα*] *εληλυθα*
40 post *λεγων* add *αυτω*
41 ante *θελω* om *αυτω*
44 *δειξον σεαυτον* hoc ordine
vi. 2 *ακουοντες*] *ακουσαντες*
4 om *αυτοις*
om *οτι*
αυτου] *εαυτου*
post *συγγενεσι* add *αυτου*
7 *προσκαλειται . . . και*] *προσκαλεσαμενος*

vi. 8 ει μη ραβδον μονον μη πηραν μη αρτον μη εις] μητε ραβδον μητε πηραν μητε αρτον μητε εις
11 om αμην λεγω . . . πολει εκεινη
16 ιωαννης ουτος εστιν] ιωαννην ουτος
om αυτος
om εκ νεκρων
19 αποκτειναι αυτον hoc ordine
22 om αυτης
αρεσασης] placuit
25 om ητησατο
28 ο δε] και
om αυτην 1°
om αυτην 2°
30 om και 3°
31 om αυτοι
33 om και προηλθον αυτοις
34 οχλον πολυν
36 om γαρ
om ουκ εχουσιν
37 αγορασωμεν] αγορασομεν
38 post πεντε add αρτους
45 προς] εις
46 απηλθεν] ανηλθεν
51 λιαν εκ περισσου] περισσως
εξισταντο και εθαυμαζον] εξεπλησσοντο
53 ηλθον επι την γην] transierunt illi in terra et venerunt
om και προσωρμισθησαν
54 επιγνοντες] επεγνωσαν
post αυτον add οι ανδρες του τοπου
55 ante ηρξαντο add και
om τοις ante κραββατοις
56 αγοραις] πλατειαις
xi. 1 αποστελλει] απεστειλε
2 λυσαντες] λυσατε και
3 om ποιειτε τουτο
6 post ανετειλατο add αυτοις
8 αλλοι δε] και αλλοι

xi. 9 post ωσαννα add τω υψιστω
10 om εν ονοματι κυριου
ωσαννα εν τοις υψιστοις] ειρηνη εν ουρανω και δοξα εν υψιστοις
15 om ο ιησους
post κολλυβιστων add εξεχεεν
17 om αυτοις
om ου
18 οι αρχιερεις και οι γραμματεις hoc ordine
21 εξηρανται] εξηρανθη
22 om και
23 om γαρ
om ος αν ειπη
26 om totum versum
28 λεγουσιν] ελεγον
εδωκεν την εξουσιαν ταυτην hoc ordine
om ινα ταυτα ποιης
31 post ερει add ημιν
om ουν

2. *Caesarean Readings in* G[1] (*Ad*) *only*

Mk. i. 1 om υιου του θεου
2 om εγω ante αποστελλω
5 εβαπτιζοντο παντες] παντες εβαπτιζοντο
7 ante ερχεται add οτι
9 εις τον ιορδανην υπο ιωαννου hoc ordine
11 εγενετο εκ των ουρανων] εκ των ουρανων ηκουσθη
16 αυτου] του σιμωνος
18 om αυτων
19 om εκειθεν
20 ευθεως ante εκαλεσεν et ante αφεντες
21 om εισελθων
εδιδασκεν εις την συναγωγην hoc ordine
32 εδυ] εδυσαν
36 κατεδιωξαν] κατεδιωξεν
40 post γονυπετων add αυτον
45 δυνασθαι αυτον
εις πολιν φανερως hoc ordine

vi. 2 εν τη συναγωγη διδασκειν] διδασκειν εν ταις συναγωγαις
post εξεπλησσοντο add επι τη διδαχη αυτου
7 εδιδου] εδωκεν
11 οσοι αν] ος αν τοπος
δεξωνται] δεξηται
ακουσωσι] ακουουσι
15 post αλλοι 1° add δε
om η
21 om αυτου 2°
24 η δε] και
post ειπεν 2° add αυτη
33 om οι οχλοι
συνεδραμον] εδραμον
34 om ο ιησους
35 om αυτου
πολλη] παρηλθεν
44 om ωσει
45 om εις το περαν
48 om αυτοις
49 φαντασμα εδοξαν hoc ordine
50 μετ αυτων] προς αυτους
xi. 4 απηλθον δε και ευρον] και απελθοντες ευρον
17 λεγων] και ελεγεν
19 εξεπορευετο] εξεπορευοντο
22 ante εχετε add ει
23 αρθητι και βληθητι] αρθηναι και βληθηναι
24 λαμβανετε] ελαβετε
29 om και 1°
31 om αλλα
33 αποκριθεις ο ιησους λεγει αυτοις hoc ordine
ταυτα ποιω] facio hoc

This list shows that many Caesarean readings are found only in the Adysh MS. — that is, have been revised out of the Georgian[2] recension. But it can also be shown that the Opiza MS. (A) and the Tbet' MS. (B) contain many non-ecclesiastical readings which are absent from the Adysh. The natural assumption is that A and B have retained Caesarean material which they

found in the archetype but which has been lost in the Adysh. Moreover, a distinction can be observed between the two MSS. of Georg^2. In general they are closely related, more closely than either is to the Adysh. B has certainly not been revised by A, for it contains some Caesarean material not found in A, and sometimes agrees with the Adysh against A. On the other hand B unquestionably shows more Greek influence and contains more Ecclesiastical readings than A.

This is shown by the following tables.

3. *Caesarean Readings in* G^2

(*a*) In both Codices A and B, but not in the Adysh MS.

Mk. i. 5 παντες post ιεροσολυμιται
8 om κυψας
10 post πνευμα add του θεου
13 πειραζομενος] et tentabatur
14 μετα δε] και μετα
17 om γενεσθαι
18 και] illi autem
20 ευθεως ante αφεντες solum
24 οιδα] οιδαμεν
31 διηκονει] surrexit et ministrabat
40 οτι εαν] κυριε εαν
vi. 3 ο τεκτων ο υιος μαριας] ο του τεκτονος υιος και μαριας
post αδελφος om δε
6 κυκλω κωμας
9 αλλα] μητε
10 εκειθεν εξελθητε hoc ordine
11 om τον υποκατω
13 εξεβαλλον] εξεβαλον
14 ηρωδης ο βασιλευς hoc ordine
17 εν τη φυλακη] και εβαλεν εις φυλακην
22 om και ωμοσεν . . . δωσω σοι
24 post ειπεν 2° add αιτησαι
25 om ευθεως
27 om ο βασιλευς
31 post αυτοις add ο ιησους

vi. 33 αυτους] αυτον
επεγνωσαν] εγνωσαν
om αυτον 1°
34 πολλης ωρας
λεγουσιν] ελεγον
36 απολυσον αυτους] απολυσον ουν τους οχλους
37 φαγειν] ινα φαγωσιν
38 εχετε αρτους hoc ordine
53 γενεσαρεθ
ηπτοντο] ηψαντο
56 om αυτου 2°
xi. 2 εφ ον ουδεις ανθρωπων] add ουπω
5 και τινες] τινες δε
7 om αυτων
11 om ο ιησους
14 om αποκριθεις ο ιησους
24 λαμβανετε] ληψεσθε
29 λογον ενα hoc ordine
32 εφοβουντο] φοβουμεθα
ειχον] ηδεισαν
om οντως

(*b*) In Codex A only

Mk. vi. 21 εποιει] εποιησεν
44 ωσει] ως
xi. 2 om αυτοις

(*c*) In Codex B only

Mk. i. 16 ante παρα add ο ιησους
31 ante αφηκεν add ευθυς
αυτοις] αυτω
41 post χειρα add αυτου
vi. 6 post περιηγεν add ο ιησους
15 om ελεγον οτι ηλιας εστιν
37 om αυτω
39 ανακλιναι παντας] ανακλιθηναι

xi. 13 post ηλθεν add εις αυτην
εἰ αρα ευρησει] ως ευρησων
om και ελθων επ αυτην
29 ante υμιν add καγω

Finally, two lists may be added, significant in their shortness, of readings in which one of the MSS. of G^2 agrees with the Adysh MS. against the other.

4. *Caesarean Readings in* G^1 *and* G^2

(*a*) In Ad and Codex A only

Mk. i. 21 καφαρναουμ
44 om μηδεν
vi. 2 om οτι
xi. 19 λεγει] ειπεν
33 τω ιησου λεγουσι hoc ordine

(*b*) In Ad and Codex B only

Mk. i. 27 om και ante τοις
vi. 4 om και εν τη οικια αυτου
30 om οσα 2°
xi. 15 post εδιδασκε add αυτους

The preceding discussion has shown that the Old Georgian version, represented at present by the Adysh manuscript and by Codices A and B, was one of the best witnesses to the Caesarean text. It has been corrected by Ecclesiastical copies in the Adysh manuscript and somewhat more extensively, but quite independently, in Codices A and B. Further, this Old Georgian was made from the Armenian. But the Armenian from which it was made has been greatly revised in the manuscripts which are the basis of the printed text and in all of the oldest Armenian manuscripts which have been the object of special study. The extent of this revision is shown by the following list of Caesarean readings which are not in the printed Armenian but may be claimed for the original version because they are preserved in one or both of the Georgian recensions.

Caesarean Readings found in the Georgian but not in the Armenian

Mk. i. 8 om κυψας AB
10 caelos apertos G^{omn}
13 πειραζομενος] et tentabatur AB
σατάνα] διαβολον AB
14 μετα δε] και μετα AB
16 ante παρα add ο ιησους B
17 om γενεσθαι AB [49]
22 post γραμματεις add αυτων G^{omn}
25, 26 εξ] απ G^{omn}
27 om τις G^{omn}
om και ante τοις AdB
28 εξηλθε δε] και εξηλθε G^{omn}
31 ante αφηκεν add ευθυς B
διηκονει] surrexit et ministrabat AB
αυτοις] αυτω B
40 post λεγων add αυτω G^{omn}
41 post χειρα add αυτου B [50]
44 om μηδεν AdA
vi. 2 om οτι AdA
om αυτοις G^{omn}
om και εν τη οικια αυτου AdB
6 post περιηγεν add ο ιησους B
7 προσκαλειται . . . και] προσκαλεσαμενος G^{omn}
8 ει μη ραβδον μονον μη πηραν μη αρτον μη εις] μητε ραβδον μητε πηραν μητε αρτον μητε εις G^{omn}
10 εκειθεν εξελθητε AB
15 om ελεγον οτι ηλιας εστιν B
16 ιωαννης ουτος εστιν] ιωαννην ουτος G^{omn} [51]
om αυτος G^{omn}
om εκ νεκρων G^{omn}
21 εποιει] εποιησαν A
22 om και ωμοσεν . . . δωσω σοι AB
24 post ειπεν 2° add αιτησε (sic W) AB
25 om ητησατο G^{omn} [52]

[49] So also om E 229 (Macler, p. 231).
[50] hab AC arm (Macler, p. 232).
[51] Z hab (Macler, p. 384).
[52] om Z? (Macler, p. 597).

vi. 30 om *οσα* 2° AdB
31 post *αυτοις* add *ο ιησους* AB [53]
33 *αυτους*] *αυτον* AB [54]
επεγνωσαν] *εγνωσαν* AB
om *αυτον* 1° AB
35 *λεγουσιν*] *ελεγον* AB [55]
36 om *γαρ* G^{omn}
om *ουκ εχουσιν* G^{omn}
37 om *αυτω* B
αγορασωμεν] *αγορασομεν* G^{omn}
φαγειν] *ινα φαγωσιν* AB
38 *εχετε αρτους* AB
39 *ανακλιναι παντας*] *ανακλιθηναι* B
44 { om *ωσει* Ad
{ *ωσει*] *ως* A
45 *προς*] *εις* G^{omn}
51 *λιαν εκ περισσου*] *περισσως* G^{omn}
εξισταντο και εθαυμαζον] *εξεπλησσοντο* G^{omn}
53 *ηλθον επι την γην*] transierunt illi in terram et venerunt G^{omn}
54 post *αυτον* add *οι ανδρες του τοπου* G^{omn} [56]
55 ante *ηρξαντο* add *και* G^{omn}
om *τοις* ante *κραββατοις* G^{omn}
56 *αγοραις*] *πλατειαις* G^{omn}
ηπτοντο] *ηψαντο* AB
om *αυτου* 2° AB
xi. 2 *εφ ον ουδεις ανθρωπων*] add *ουπω* AB
5 *και τινες*] *τινες δε* AB
6 post *ενετειλατο* add *αυτοις* G^{omn}
11 om *ο ιησους* G^{omn}
13 post *ηλθεν* add *εις αυτην* B
ει αρα ευρησει] *ως ευρησων* B
om *και ελθων επ αυτην* B
14 om *αποκριθεις ο ιησους* AB
21 *λεγει*] *ειπεν* AdA
εξηρανται] *εξηρανθη* G^{omn}

[53] In the Armenian (Macler, p. 319).
[54] arm D (Macler, p. 242).
[55] hab arm Z (Macler, p. 242).
[56] hab Z (Macler, p. 597).

xi. 23 om ο εαν ειπη G^{omn}
28 λεγουσιν] ελεγον G^{omn}
31 post ερει add ημιν G^{omn}
om ουν G^{omn}
33 τω ιησου λεγουσιν AB

This list seems to prove the important conclusion that when the Georgian version was made, an Old Armenian version existed which must have been a far better representative of the Caesarean text than is any extant Armenian MS. The only possible alternative to this conclusion would be that the Old Georgian version was made from the Armenian now existing, and then revised, both in the Adysh manuscript and in Codices A and B, by the help of Caesarean Greek manuscripts. But, entirely apart from the fact that this theory would be so improbable as to be almost a reductio ad absurdum, it is decisively opposed by the complete absence of any historical or linguistic evidence of direct connection between the Georgian version and any Greek manuscripts. It seems, therefore, certain that the Old Armenian was a relatively pure Caesarean text. Was it a direct translation from the Greek? That is a question of so much importance that it is desirable to state fully what is known of the early history of the Armenian version.

2. *The Armenian Version*

The history of the investigation of the Armenian versions has been set forth in detail by F. Macler in his book, "Le texte arménien de l'évangile d'après Matthieu et Marc." [57] In a section entitled 'Opinions des Modernes' he summarizes the work of New Testament critics from Richard Simon (1684) to the beginning of the late war. In the main this accumulation of authorities is nothing but a 'summa testimoniorum.' For the most part the scholars there named give no detailed exposition as to why they hold their views, but either content themselves with citing their predecessors or else give a priori reasons for adhering to one or the other of the two current hypotheses.

[57] Annales du Musée Guimet, XXVIII, Paris, 1919.

These hypotheses are (1) that the Armenian is a faithful representative of the Greek and (2) that on the contrary the Armenian (on the testimony of Moses of Khorene) was a translation from the Syriac.

The data from Armenian sources which we possess about the translation of the Bible into that tongue point to a dual tradition. Grecophil sources, like Lazar of P'arp and Koriun, naturally seek to emphasize the influence of Hellenic models and tradition, while on the other hand Moses of Khorene, who, it may be observed, not infrequently cites versions of documents in forms distinctly older than those now otherwise extant, offers the tradition of Syriac origin. The evidence of the alphabet, as cited below (pp. 360–361), favors a dual source for the script. More value attaches to the discussions subsequent to the discovery of the Old Syriac and especially of the Sinaitic manuscript than to earlier publications. It is not, however, too much to say that until Macler attacked the problem, only one scholar had really examined the Armenian in detail and set forth his results. This was J. Armitage Robinson in his "Euthaliana." [58] Macler gives a detailed refutation of Robinson's views (pp. xlix–lv), which is at some points convincing, at others not satisfactory.

Macler is a strong partisan of the theory that the Armenian is derived directly from the Greek. [59] In many respects his work marks a distinct advance over earlier treatments of the problem. He gives us a detailed analysis of the texts of Matthew and Mark, in which he not merely uses the printed editions, but employs for the first time a number of old manuscripts of great merit. In the discussion of the readings the other versions are quoted to explain and illustrate the Armenian rather than to interpret the Syriac or the Greek. He is acquainted both with Syriac and with Armenian to an extent which has not usually been characteristic of New Testament scholars. On the other hand some grave defects of method [60]

[58] Texts and Studies, III. 3, Cambridge, 1895.

[59] P. 403: "l'évangile arménien semble calqué sur le grec."

[60] See Robert P. Blake, 'Macler's Armenian Gospels,' in Harvard Theological Review, vol. XV, 1922, pp. 299–303.

must be noted. He gives no systematic collation of the Armenian materials. He relied too much on von Soden's theories, especially with regard to the position of D among the I-group of MSS.[61] And his fundamental hypothesis led him to assume that when a reading of the Armenian is found in any Greek MS., it must have been directly derived by the Armenian from Greek sources, even though it may also appear in Syriac. Even in the case of readings which show affinity to the Syriac, he argues that any direct relation with the Syriac can be denied, first, by reason of the many divergences between the extant Syriac and Armenian texts, and secondly, because of the preponderance of Greek idiom in the Armenian version, so that the readings in question were either derived there also from Greek MSS. or else were fortuitous and translational in character. Moreover in many instances, when dealing with the Syriac, he fails to point out that one or the other of the Syriac texts actually preserves the reading which he attributes to Greek influence. But his most serious, though excusable, deficiency is his neglect of the Georgian evidence, so that he has really told only half the story.

Macler makes it plain that the Armenian is related to the group of codices which we regard as Caesarean, but he fails to see that in the extant Armenian this relationship is comparatively weak. The Armenian contains as much K-material as it does Caesarean, and may have suffered revision by the aid of other Greek manuscripts, not of the Caesarean type. We have shown above (pp. 304–307) that the Armenian which underlies the Old Georgian was a strongly Caesarean text without any pronounced peculiarities that betray direct Greek influence.[62] Therefore the K-elements present in the extant Armenian can only have come in as the result of a secondary recension, in which the Armenian codices were revised from Greek manuscripts containing a strong admixture of K-readings. The variants of this nature found in the text of G^2 do not

[61] See K. Lake and R. P. Blake, 'The Text of the Gospels and the Koridethi Codex,' Harvard Theological Review, XVI, 1923, pp. 267–286.

[62] See above, p. 255. The Georgian shows that the original Armenian must have been somewhat more literal and less idiomatic than the present texts.

coincide with those found in Macler's Armenian manuscripts, and we are forced to conclude that there is no connection between these two revisions. The presence of the Caesarean stratum in the Armenian, together with the history of the Georgian version, make it practically certain that the ancestor of our present Armenian had the same text (strongly Caesarean) which lies at the basis of the Adysh MS. This being the case, the close kinship with the Greek, which is the distinguishing characteristic of the extant Armenian manuscripts, is not primary in the original Armenian, but a secondary phenomenon in the history of that version.

To sum up, it is certain that the original Armenian was a strongly Caesarean text; this is demonstrated by the Georgian evidence. But this original version is not extant; it was probably revised at an early date, by predominantly Neutral MSS. Of this revision no MSS. are known to exist, but its existence seems a necessary corollary from the Neutral element in the Adysh MS. of the Georgian (see pp. 254 ff.). It is possible that further investigation will show traces of it in Armenian MSS. Later on it was revised again by Greek manuscripts of the K or Ecclesiastical type, and most of Macler's arguments for a Greek original are derived from readings introduced by this revision, not from the readings of the original version. Thus his arguments for the direct dependence of the Armenian on Greek lose their force, and we are justified in accepting the otherwise more probable view that the Armenian is based on the Syriac. The following list of Syriasms preserved in Armenian or Georgian confirms this view, and shows that just as a consideration of the Georgian led to an investigation of the Armenian, so the investigation of the Armenian necessarily leads to a study of the Syriac evidence.

It has seemed best to divide these Syriasms which we have observed into two sections. In the first list we give a series of passages pointed out by A. Merk, in his article 'Die armenischen Evangelien und ihre Vorlage,' in Biblica, VII, 1926, pp. 40–71, and add for these the Georgian evidence.

Syriasms surviving in the Armenian noticed by Merk (p. 64)

(The readings first cited in each case are those of the Textus Receptus.)

Mark		
i. 16	αμφιβαλλοντας] οτι αμφεβαλλον syr^{sin} G^{2}	ისათხევლიდეს რაჲ AB
22	ως εξουσιαν εχων] ως εν εξουσια syr$^{sin\ pesh}$ G^{1}	ვითარ კელმწიფე Ad
23	εν πνευματι ακαθαρτω] εν ω πνευμα ακαθαρτον ην εν αυτω syr$^{sin\ pesh}$ (G^{2} has a similar construction)	რომლისა თანა იყო სული არა წმიდაჲ AB
27	κατ εξουσιαν και τοις πνευμασι ακαθαρτοις επιτασσει] οτι εν εξουσια και τοις πνευμασιν ακαθαρτοις επιτασσει syr$^{sin\ pesh}$ G^{omn}	კელმწიფებითა არა წმიდათა მათ სულთა უბრძანის Ad
32	οτε εδυ ο ηλιος] εν τω δυναι τον ηλιον syr$^{sin\ pesh}$ G^{1}	რაჟამს დაჰვიდოდა მზე Ad
38	αγωμεν αλλαχου] αγωμεν ερχωμεθα syr^{sin} G^{omn}	მოვიდეთ და მივიდეთ Ad
44	post σου add το δωρον syr$^{sin\ pesh\ pal}$ (G vac)	
xi. 24	αιτεισθε πιστευετε οτι ελαβετε και εσται] αιτεισθε και πιστευετε οτι ληψεσθε εσται syr^{sin} G^{1} fere idem	ითხოვდეთ გრწმენით ვითარმედ მიიღეთ (-ოთ AB) და გეყოს თქუენ G^{omn}
29	ταυτα ποιω] ποιω ταυτα syr^{sin} G^{omn}	ამას ვიქმ G^{omn}
33	ταυτα ποιω] ποιω ταυτα syr^{sin} G^{omn}	ვიქმ ამას Ad

Out of ten passages the Georgian supports the Syriasm in eight, has an allied construction in the ninth (i. 23), and in the tenth (i. 44) omits the word because the Georgian შეწირე is absolute in sense.

Other Syriasms found in the Armenian

The group of passages in the Table inserted opposite were detected by ourselves while working over the Palestinian Syriac. We make no claim to having gathered an exhaustive collection, but the instances we have found we consider decisive.

3. *The Syriac Versions*

The history of the Syriac version of the New Testament falls into two sections according to the dialect used. By far the most important literary dialect of Syriac is that of Edessa and Nisibis, in which the earliest literary monuments in Syriac appear to have been composed. Into that dialect was translated the oldest extant Syriac version, the Evangelion da-Mepharreshe or 'separated gospels,' presumably so called to distinguish it from the probably earlier Diatessaron of Tatian, which was written in (or translated into) the same dialect but is now extant only in fragmentary and imperfect translations into Armenian, Arabic, and Latin. We know practically nothing about the history of the Evangelion da-Mepharreshe. It may have been used, at least in some instances, by Aphraates and the author of the Syriac Acts of Judas Thomas, but throughout the third and fourth centuries the Diatessaron seems to have been the dominant version of the gospels among Edessene Christians. At the beginning of the fifth century a new or revised version was made for Rabbula, bishop of Edessa. This revision has been satisfactorily identified by Burkitt with the Peshitto, and it became the vulgate of the Syriac-speaking church, both in its Nestorian and Monophysite (or Jacobite) branches. It would be natural that Rabbula should use Greek manuscripts of the type common in Antioch in the fourth century, but whether, as often stated, the text of his gospels is closely related to that of Chrysostom and Theodoret is by no means certain.[63]

[63] Gwilliam, 'The Place of the Peshitto Version in the Apparatus Criticus of the Greek New Testament,' in Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica, V, 1903, pp. 189–237, finds (p. 208) that in Matt. 1–14, of the cases available for comparison, the Peshitto agrees with the "traditional text" 108 times, with Codex Vaticanus 65 times, while in 137 cases the Peshitto departs from both, usually with the support of the Curetonian or

According to Burkitt the renderings, as distinct from the underlying Greek text, show that the reviser or revisers who made the Peshitto were familiar with the Evangelion da-Mepharreshe. In the sixth century the Jacobite Syrians produced another translation made for Philoxenus, or, as the Syrians call him, Mar Xenaia. Of this we have an edition made in the seventh century by Thomas of Heraclea, who added variant readings from manuscripts found by him in the monastery of the Enaton near Alexandria, thus producing the first critical edition of the gospels. (See Excursus III.)

A different dialect, which appears to have been spoken by the population of Coele-Syria, is usually called 'Palestinian.' Of the meagre literature in this dialect the best account is given by F. C. Burkitt in his article, 'Christian Palestinian Literature,' in the Journal of Theological Studies, vol. II, 1901, pp. 174 ff. The fragments which we possess are almost wholly biblical. The most extensive text is a complete lectionary, found in three MSS. of the 11th century, one being now at Rome and two at St. Catherine's on Mt. Sinai. The text of the Roman manuscript (Cod. Syr. Vat. 19) was published at Verona in 1861–1864 as Evangeliarium Hierosolymitanum by Count F. Miniscalchi-Erizzo. Some fragments of the gospels in this dialect were also published at Leiden in 1875 by Land in Analecta Syriaca, IV, pp. 142, 216 f. The text of the Roman manuscript was republished by Lagarde in an emended form in Bibliotheca Syriaca, Göttingen, 1892. The Sinai manuscripts were discovered by Mrs. Gibson and Mrs. Lewis, and published in A Palestinian Syriac Lectionary, 1899. Their text is approximately the same as the Roman manuscript, and for those who read Syriac with difficulty the presence of a literal Latin translation in the Italian edition is a great assistance. Among the fragments published by Land is at least one which apparently does not belong to a lectionary, but to a continuous text. In

the Sinaitic Syriac or of the Old Latin, etc. He gives a list of 31 cases where the Peshitto stands alone (pp. 217 f.). In Acts the Peshitto contains "considerable survivals of a more primitive 'Western' Old Syriac in the midst of a text substantially like that of the Old Uncials"; see J. H. Ropes, The Text of Acts (The Beginnings of Christianity, vol. III), 1926, p. cxlix, and the tables, pp. 291–316.

1906 H. Duensing added a further fragment of Mark in his Syropalästinische Palimpsestfragmente, Göttingen, 1906. These fragments apparently came from the Damascus mosque; they have now been lost, or lost sight of. Finally, in 1909, Mrs. Lewis published some fragments, probably of the continuous text, from the palimpsest manuscript of John Climacus at Sinai, in Horae Semiticae, VIII, 1909, pp. 68 and 70.

The text of Mark in the lectionary shows some of the variants which occur in all lectionaries in consequence of the use for which they were intended, and, as might be expected in relatively late manuscripts, the lectionary text has been somewhat conformed to the late Ecclesiastical standards. In general, however, our investigations suggest that the Palestinian lectionary preserves, directly or indirectly, the Syriac text from which was made the original Old Armenian, the existence of which we have inferred from the Georgian (above, pp. 294 f.). As the text of the Palestinian Syriac is very imperfectly represented in Tischendorf, we give a collation with the Textus Receptus of the lectionary for those parts of Mark i, vi, and xi which are preserved in it, and also of Land's, Duensing's, and the Climacus fragments of these chapters.

Collation of Palestinian Syriac, Mark i, vi, and xi

In this collation 'G' in all cases means 'Georgian.'

The various fragments are denoted by the following symbols:

(1) Lectionary, Mark i. 1–11, i. 35–44, vi. 1–5, vi. 14–30, xi. 22–25, found in the three MSS. mentioned above and quoted here, in conformity with Mrs. Lewis, as a, b, c.

(2) Codex Climaci Rescriptus, Mark i. 1–10, Horae Semiticae VIII, p. 68, quoted as d; and Mark i. 20–29, Horae Semiticae VIII, p. 70, quoted as e,

(3) Fragment, Mark vi. 41–50, edited by Duensing, p. 134, quoted as f.

(4) Fragment, Mark xi. 2–3, edited by Land, Anecdota Syriaca IV, p. 142, quoted as g.

(5) Fragment, Mark xi, 18–31, edited by Land, Anecdota Syriaca IV, pp. 216 f., quoted as h.

Mk. i. 1 αρχη του ευαγγελιου] evangelium a b c
ιησου] domini Iesu a b c
om υιου του θεου a b c d c. Θ 28 G^1 ℵ arm Iren Serap Orig Bas

2 εν τοις προφηταις] in Esaia propheta a b c d c. Θ fam^1 700 (565) G D (ℵBLΔ 33) lat vg boh pesh $syr^{hcl\ mg}$ Iren Orig Serap
ιδου] quia ecce a b c
om εμπροσθεν σου a b c d c. Θ 700 ℵBLDWKΠ a b c l pesh boh aeth Orig

4 εγενετο] fuit autem a b c c. G^1 arm boh (cf και εγενετο ℵ*)

5 χωρα] terra Iudae d
οι ιεροσολυμιται] omnes Hierosolymitani a b c d c. pesh (cf 28 G^2 ℵBLΔ 33 D lat boh arm syr^{sin})
om παντες post εβαπτιζοντο a b c, omnes baptizabantur d c. (fam^{13} 565 G^1)
εν τω ιορδανη ποταμω υπ αυτου] ab eo in Iordane flumine a b c d c. G^1 G^2 ℵBL 33 lat vg arm

6 ην δε] et fuit a b c d c. 565 G^2 ℵBL arm
περι την οσφυν] cincta in lumbis a b c c. G^1
om αυτου a b
αγριον] montis a b c d

7 λεγων] et dixit a b c d c. D a (G^1 G^2 et dicebat)
ικανος] dignus a b c d c. G^1 G^2 arm
υποδηματων αυτου] calceamenti eius b c. L syr^{hcl} $Clem^{al}$, calceamentorum c

9 ιησους] dominus Iesus a b c d
ναζαρετ] Nazorath a b c
ιορδανην] Iordanem flumen a b c d (sed non liquet utrum εις reddat an εν), in Iordanem flumen a Iohanne d c. (Θ fam^1 fam^{13} 28 565 700 G^1 ℵBL 33 D a b ff_2 pesh arm Orig)

10 ουρανους σχιζομενους] apertos caelos a b c c. G^1 G^2 D

11 εγενετο] dixit b, erat dicens a c
εν ω] in te a b c c. Θ fam^1 fam^{13} 28 565 700 G^1 G^2 ℵBLΔD a c ff_2 l vg boh pesh syr^{hcl} arm aeth

i. 20 Zebedaeum patrem eorum (hoc ordine) e (cf Georg^{2})
απηλθον] venerunt (= ηλθον?) ad eos e
21 καφαρναουμ e c. Θ fam^{13} 565 700 G^{1} G^{2A} ℵBΔ 33 DW lat vg boh arm Orig
om εισελθων e c. fam^{13} 28 565 G^{1} ℵCLΔ boh pesh Orig
22 γραμματεις αυτων e c. CMΔ 33 c f g^{2} pesh syr^{hcl} aeth
23 ευθυς ην e c. fam^{1} ℵBL 33 boh Orig
24 om εα e c. Θ 565 ℵBDW lat vg boh syr^{sin} pesh aeth
ηλθες] venisti enim e
26 σπαραξαν] percussit e c. G^{2}
27 om τις e c. Θ fam^{1} 565 700 G ℵBL 33 boh aeth arm
η διδαχη η καινη αυτη] haec doctrina nova e
επιτασσει] ejicit e
28 εξηλθε δε] και εξηλθε e c. Θ 700 G^{1} G^{2} ℵBCLΔM 33 DW pesh aeth
om ευθυς e c. Θ fam^{1} 28 565 700 G^{1} G^{2} ℵ b c e ff$_{2}$ q boh arm aeth
add in totam terram ante εις ολην (= πανταχου?) c. (fam^{13} ℵ^{c}BCL b e q boh)
29 ευθεως εκ της συναγωγης εξελθοντες] egressi statim e synagoga e (cf G^{1})
36 κατεδιωξαν] persecutus est a b c c. Θ 28 565 700 G^{1} ℵBMU ff$_{1}$ g$_{2}$ vg boh
37 ευροντες] cum invenissent a b c c. D a d ff$_{2}$ f vg pesh syr^{hcl} arm
παντες] omnis populus a b c
ζητουσι σε] te quaerunt a b c c. fam^{13} 565 ΑΓΠW a f
38 εχομενας] proximas (cf εγγυς D lat vg) a b c
κωμοπολεις] civitates a b c
39 ην] venit a b c c. Θ ℵBL boh aeth
40 λεπρος] unus homo leprosus a b c c. G^{2}
γονυπετων αυτον] procubuit super genua sua ante eum a b c c. G^{2B}

i. 40 *οτι*] domine a b c. Θ 700 G^2 CLW c e ff_2 g_1 boh arm aeth, domine noster c

41 *ο δε ιησους*] dominus autem Iesus a b c

ηψατο] appropinquavit a b c (cf arm)

42 *λεπρα*] lepra eius a b c

44 *σεαυτον δειξον*] monstra te a b c c. G^1 G^2 DW lat vg arm

προσενεγκε] offer oblationem a b c c. arm

vi. 1 *πατριδα*] civitatem a b c (cf civitatem suam pesh, regionem arm G)

ακουοντες] audierunt et a b c (non arm G)

λεγοντες] et dicebant a b c c. arm G

3 *ο τεκτων ο υιος μαριας*] puer fabri et filius Mariam a b c (cf *ο του τεκτονος, υιος μαριας* 565)

μαριας] Mariam a b c c. 28

om *ουκ* a b c c. G^2

4 *ιησους*] dominus Iesus a b c

om *οτι* a b c c. Θ fam^{13} 565 700 G^1 G^2 ΔS pesh arm aeth

ατιμος] contemptus a b c (cf G^2) arm

πατριδι] civitatem a b c (cf pesh), regionem arm G

om *και εν τη οικια αυτου* a b c c. G^1 G^{2B} e

5 *εκει . . . ποιησαι*] facere illic nec unam potestatem a b c

14 *ο βασιλευς ηρωδης*] Herodes rex a b c c. 565 700 G^2 DF a b c f i pesh syr^{sin} arm aeth

το ονομα αυτου] nomen eius domini Iesu a b c (cf nomen Iesu G^1)

ο βαπτιζων] baptista a b c c. Θ fam^{13} 28 700 WDS 33 a b c f i q vg syr^{sin}

εκ νεκρων ηγερθη] resurrexit e mortuis a b c c. 565 700 (Θ) ℵBLΔD 33 lat vg boh pesh $syr^{sin\ hcl}$ arm aeth

ενεργουσιν αι δυναμεις] potestates operantur a b c c. Θ 565 ΔΚΠ 33 a ff_2 vg pesh syr^{hcl} arm

15 *αλλοι*] et alii (*αλλοι δε*) a b c c. (Θ fam^1 fam^{13} 28 565 700 W G^1 ℵBΔD al pler)

vi. 15 *ηλιας εστιν*] est Elias a b c
αλλοι δε] et alii a b c c. G^{2B}
16 *ειπεν*] dicebat a c c. Θ ℵBCLΔ 33 arm
om *οτι* a b c c. Θ fam^{1} 28 565 700 ℵBLD 33 lat vg pesh syr^{hcl} arm aeth
ον . . . ιωαννην] hic est Iohannes quem ego decollavi a b c c. Θ fam^{1} 565 700 a b i q (boh)
ηγερθη εκ νεκρων] resurrexit c c. WGℵBLΔ 33 boh
17 *εδησεν*] iecit b c. pesh $pers^{p}$ (cf *εδησεν αυτον και εβαλεν εις φυλακην* Θ fam^{13} 28 700 (565) G^{2})
εγαμησε] adsociavit a b c
18 *ελεγεν*] dicebat ei a b c c. 33
om *οτι* a b c c. 28 D c ff_{2} g_{1} i vg aeth
εχειν] ut sit tecum a b c
19 *ενειχε*] obiurgavit b, suavis erat ei a c
21 *ευκαιρου*] specialis a b c
τοις μεγιστασι] cum magnatibus b c. G^{1}
22 om *αυτης* a b c c. fam^{1} G^{1} G^{2} syr^{sin} pesh arm aeth boh b c f
23 om *και ωμοσεν . . . δωσω σοι* a b c c. fam^{1} W G^{2} Γ syr^{sin}
24 *αιτησομαι*] petat a b c
25 *μετα σπουδης*] cum studio a b c
θελω ινα μοι δως εξ αυτης] volo protinus ut des a b c c. G^{1} (G^{2})
26 *περιλυπος γενομενος*] contristatus est a b c
δια τους ορκους] propter autem iusiurandum a b c c. G^{1} G^{2}
ηθελησε] volebat a b c c. fam^{1} Π* (*ηθελε*)
αθετησαι] vim facere a b c
27 *ενεχθηναι*] ferre c. G^{1} G^{2} ℵBCΔ arm
29 *ακουσαντες*] audierunt . . et a b c
μαθηται αυτου] discipuli (casu omisit *αυτου*) a b c
και ηραν] ceperunt a b c
30 *και συναγονται*] et convenerunt autem a c c. G^{1} G^{2}
προς τον ιησουν] cum domino c, cum domino Iesu a b

vi. 30 *παντα και οσα*] omnia quae a b c c. 28 (Θ fam^{1} 565 G^{1} G^{2} ℵBCLΔ D 33 lat vg boh pesh arm aeth)

43 *κλασματων*] fragmenta f c. 28 BLΔ

44 *και ησαν*] erant autem f

τους αρτους] panem f

om *ωσει* f c. fam^{13} W G^{1} BLΔΑΓΠD boh pesh syr^{hcl} syr^{sin} lat

45 *εμβηναι*] ascendere f

τον οχλον] *τους οχλους* f c. fam^{1} 565 700

48 *και ειδεν*] et cum viderit (= *και ιδων*) f c. ΘW ℵBLΔD lat boh

εν τω ελαυνειν] in mari quod erant euntes f

εναντιος αυτοις] add verba quaedam obscura, circiter 'solum ad imbrem' f

49 *περιπατουντα επι της θαλασσης*] *επι της θαλασσης περιπατουντα* f c. Θ ℵBLΔ 33 syr^{sin}

xi. 1 *οτε εγγιζουσι*] cum adpropinquarent g c. fam^{13} M

αποστελλει] misit g c. fam^{1} G^{1} G^{2} FH lat pesh syr^{sin} arm aeth

δυο] duo ex g c. G^{1} G^{2}

2 *ουδεις*] adhuc nemo g c. KΠ al (nemo adhuc G^{2})

(*κεκαθικεν* in lacuna ante *ουπω ουδεις* fuisse videtur)

λυσαντες αυτον] solvite (sine *αυτον*) et g c. G syr^{sin} pesh hcl arm aeth (cf ℵBCΔ etc)

αγαγετε] add eum g

3 *εαν τις υμιν ειπη*] si dicet vobis quis g (cf G^{1})

τι ποιειτε τουτο] cur vos solvitis pullum g c. Θ fam^{13} 28 565 700 D a b ff$_{2}$ arm Orig

ο κυριος αυτου χρειαν εχει] domino opus est eius g

αυτὸν αποστελει] mittit eum g c. Θ (G^{1} G^{2})

18 *και εζητουν*] om *και* h (ita ut *αρχιερεις* cum *εζητουν* coniungatur) c. D lat

21 *λεγει*] dixit h c. Θ 565 700 G syr^{sin}

22 *αποκριθεις*] respondit et a b c c. G^{1} G^{2}

ιησους] dominus Iesus h

λεγει] dixit a c c. Θ 565 700 G^{1} G^{2} syr^{sin} arm

εχετε] si sit in vobis a b c h c. Θ fam^{13} 28 565 G^{1} ℵ 33 D a b i arm syr^{sin}

xi. 23 om γαρ a b c c. Θ fam^{1} 28 565 700 G^{1} G^{2} ℵBND lat vg syr^{sin} arm
ορει τουτω] huic monti h
και βληθητι] iacere (sine και) a b c
α λεγει] ο λαλει reddere videtur a b c h c. Θ 565 ℵBN 33 a k syr^{sin}
γινεται] γενησεται reddit a b c h c. G^{2}
ο εαν] omne quod a b c h (= οσα εαν ?) c. Θ 565 700
24 δια τουτο] propter hoc igitur h
παντα] quia omnia h
προσευχομενοι αιτεισθε] αιτησητε προσευχομενοι reddere videtur a b c h c. (Θ 28 565 700)
εσται] fiet a b c, fiet vobis h
25 ει τι εχετε κατα τινος] quod in animis vestris sit contra aliquem h
αφη] remittet h
26 om totum comma h c. 565 700 W G^{1}G^{2} ℵBLSΔ k l boh arm aeth
27 ερχονται] venerunt h c. a f g^{1}
ερχονται 2°] venerunt h
28 και λεγουσι] dicentes h
τις . . . εδωκεν] quis dedit tibi hanc potestatem h (cf fam^{1})
ταυτα ποιης] facias haec h
29 ο δε ιησους] dominus Iesus (sine δε) h
ταυτα ποιω] facio haec h
31 λεγοντες] dicentes quid dicemus h c. Θ fam^{13} 28 565 WD a b c ff$_{2}$ i
εξ ουρανου] quia e caelo h c. Θ fam^{13} arm
ερει] dicet nobis h c. Θ fam^{1} fam^{13} 565 700 W G^{1} G^{2} DM lat vg syr^{sin}

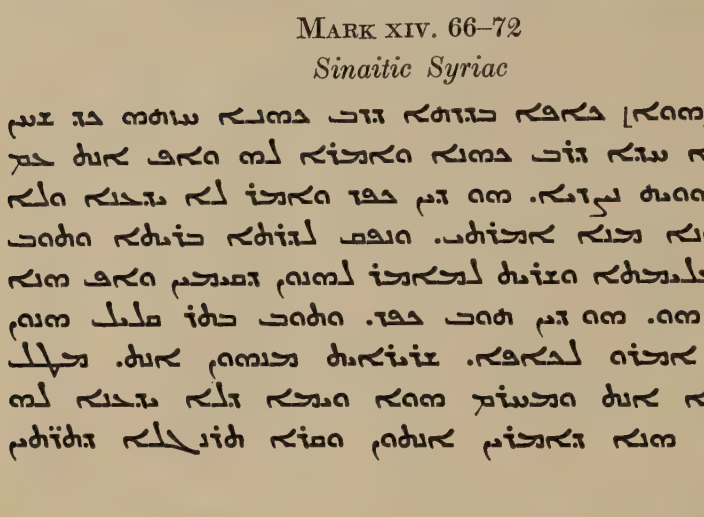
These variants seem to prove that the Palestinian Syriac in its present form is a debased representative of the Syriac which underlies the Armenian. Nor can it be doubted that it was based on Caesarean Greek manuscripts. It does not, however, follow that the original Syriac version of this type was made

from the Greek directly into the Palestinian dialect. There is indeed no proof that it was not so made, but the Palestinian form may be a revision of an earlier text in the literary, or Edessene, dialect. In favor of this possibility is the fact that we have no reason to suppose that any extensive Palestinian-Syriac literature ever existed, and that the best Syriac scholars think that the Palestinian dialect was not used for literary purposes until the sixth century, when political and ecclesiastical troubles divided the Syriac-speaking Christians of Coele-Syria from those of Mesopotamia. It is conceivable that the Syriac text of the Theophania of Eusebius, which is extant in the Edessene dialect in a manuscript written in the year 411, and is thus earlier than the Peshitto, may contain traces of the original version. The quotations from Mark in the Syriac Theophania undoubtedly represent the same Caesarean text as is found in the Greek of Eusebius elsewhere; of course they may have been translated directly from the Greek, but they may owe their origin to an earlier Syriac of Caesarean type.

This question has been discussed, but for a different purpose and from a different point of view, by F. C. Burkitt in his Evangelion da-Mepharreshe, vol. II, pp. 166 ff. He was anxious to show that there is no evidence earlier than Rabbula for the use of the Peshitto; and it was obviously essential to show that the translation of Eusebius contained in a manuscript dated A.D. 411 did not use it. His conclusion is that the translator probably translated the Greek of Eusebius into Syriac without actually replacing the quotations from scripture by the corresponding passages from a Syriac version, but that he was influenced in his renderings by a knowledge of the Evangelion da-Mepharreshe. Plainly the question may now be raised whether the translator was influenced by the Evangelion da-Mepharreshe or by the version which we have postulated on Georgian and Armenian evidence. The passages discussed by Burkitt happen not to include quotations from Mark; we therefore append the text of the Syriac Theophania, the Evangelion da-Mepharreshe, and the Peshitto for the longest quotation from Mark found in the Theophania.

MARK XIV. 66–72

Sinaitic Syriac



Eusebius, Theophania	*Peshitto*
ܘܥܕ ܗܘ ܒܬܪܬ ܥܒܕ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܐܡܗܬܗ ܐܬܐ ܒܬ ܟܗܢܐ ܘܚܙܐ ܠܗ ܟܐܦܐ ܕܡ ܥܡ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܘܐܡܪ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܡܢ ܥܡܗ ܗܘܝܬ ܘܟܕ ܚܙܬ ܐܝܟ ܕܡ ܥܡ ܝܫܘܥ ܕܢܨܪܬ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܟܚܕ ܡܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܘܟܕ ܫܡܥ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܗ ܒܬ ܟܗܢܐ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܝܕܥ ܐܢܐ ܘܠܐ ܡܕܥ ܡܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܬ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܐܙܠ ܠܒܪ ܡܢ ܦܬܪܐ ܘܥܡܕ ܒܪ ܡܢ ܥܠ ܕܪ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܒܪ ܡܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܐܢܬ ܘܐܡܪ

The difficulty is that in any case the textual character of the quotations in Eusebius and of the 'postulated' Syriac version is the same; both belong to the Caesarean family. Doubtless complete knowledge of the 'postulated' version and of the Caesarean Greek text would reveal some difference between them. We suspect, for instance, that the 'postulated' version was influenced somewhat more by the Evangelion da-Mepharreshe than the Caesarean Greek manuscripts were by the text from which the Evangelion da-Mepharreshe was made. But this distinction between the 'postulated' version and the Greek manuscripts has not yet been examined; nor can this be done without further study of the Georgian and Armenian, as well as of the Greek text. For the present it will be well to keep an open mind on the question of the relation between the 'postulated' version and the Syriac Theophania.

In any case, even if no help can be found in the Theophania, the three manuscripts of the Palestinian lectionary are probably somewhat nearer to the Syriac version from which they are derived than is the Armenian of Zohrab's edition to the earliest Armenian version, and it ought to be possible for Orientalists by the use of the Georgian, Armenian, and Syriac to come appreciably nearer to the original form of the version. To reconstruct this Syriac text is a task cognate to, but not identical with, the reconstruction of the Caesarean Greek text which underlies it. The Syriac problem demands a highly specialized linguistic knowledge of Syriac in all its forms which we are far from possessing, and ultimately we should like to ask three questions of those who have it.

(1) How far did this Syriac version which must underlie the extant Palestinian Syriac fragments differ from the Greek text of Caesarea, as that can now be reconstructed? Was it, for instance, in any way influenced either in rendering or in text by the Evangelion da-Mepharreshe?

(2) Does this version appear to have been known either to Rabbula or to Thomas of Harkel?

(3) Did the Syriac translator of Eusebius use this version or did he translate Eusebius's quotations without reference to any Syriac version of the gospels?

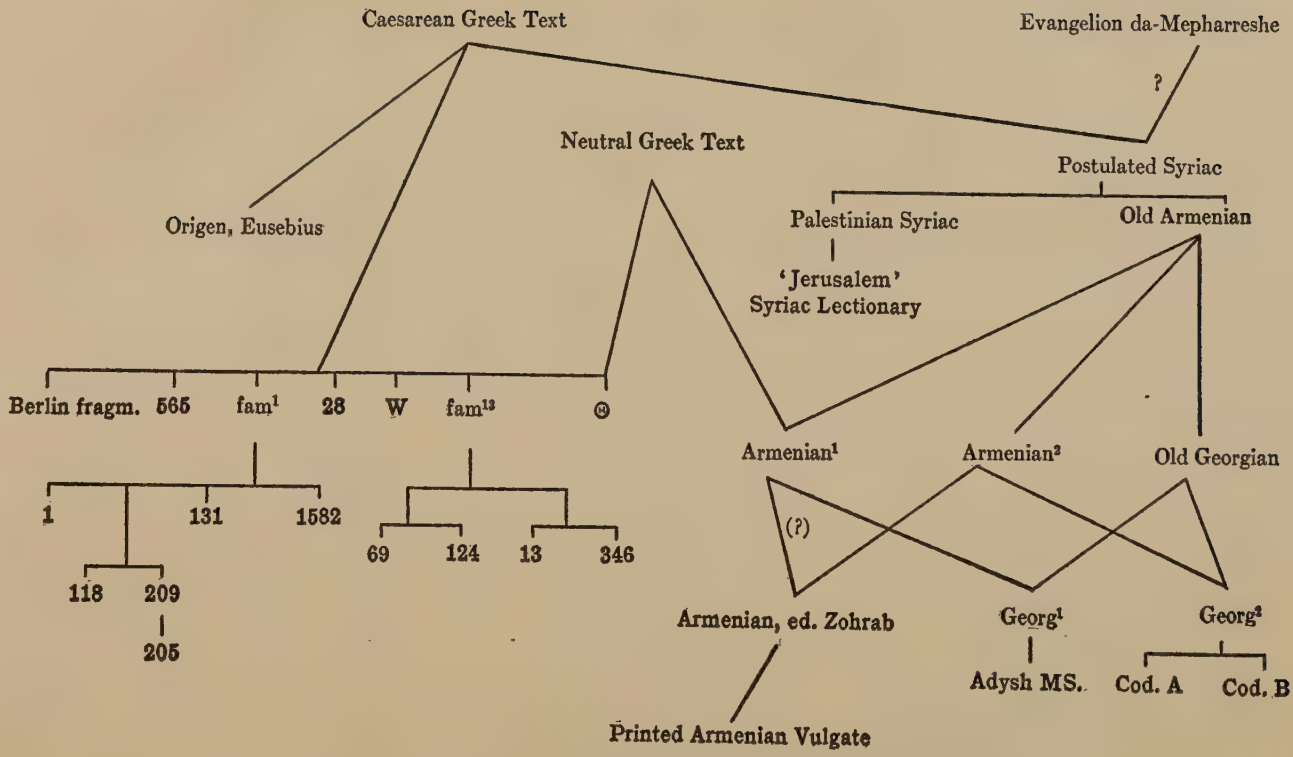
IV. Conclusion

The preceding investigations appear to prove three points.

(1) The comparison of the Greek manuscripts studied shows that, though all represent the same underlying text, each has been partly but independently corrected by the influence of the Ecclesiastical text. The tabular presentation given above (pp. 213–246) indicates that no one of these manuscripts is perfect, and that no one of them can be wholly neglected. The patristic evidence, more especially the long quotation in the Demonstratio Evangelica of Eusebius, confirms this result. No single manuscript is as good as the quotations in the Demonstratio, but the group of manuscripts taken together represent very exactly the text which Eusebius used. Codex Theodorae (565), which is certainly the best of the group, has been corrected by an Ecclesiastical type of text in perhaps 20 or 30 per cent of variants, but in almost every case one or another codex of the group supports Eusebius, and a reconstruction based on the principle of eliminating Ecclesiastical readings in each manuscript would produce a text substantially true to type. This has been attempted in Excursus IV. There are also a very few readings where either the text of Eusebius has suffered in transmission or else variants in the text represented by the group were already present in the fourth century. Obviously both these possibilities are intrinsically likely and neither excludes the other.

(2) The Patristic evidence discussed in Part II (pp. 259–285) carries the investigation further. It partly confirms and partly modifies the conclusion of Streeter that this text was found by Origen in Caesarea. It was certainly used by him there, and (contrary to Streeter's view) was also used by Eusebius. But was it found by Origen in Caesarea or brought thither by him? On that question we have no firm convictions; the problem, which is stated more fully below, remains to be worked out.

(3) The evidence of the Oriental versions set forth in Part III (pp. 286–323), extends our knowledge of the use made of this Caesarean text. It shows that it was the basis of the Old Armenian version, now best preserved in the Old Georgian


Caesarean Greek Text
Evangelion da-Mepharreshe
?
Neutral Greek Text
Postulated Syriac
Origen, Eusebius
Palestinian Syriac
Old Armenian
'Jerusalem'
Syriac Lectionary
Berlin fragm.
565
fam¹
28
W
fam¹³
Θ
Armenian¹
Armenian²
Old Georgian
1
131
1582
69
124
13
346
(?)
118
209
205
Armenian, ed. Zohrab
Georg¹
Georg²
Adysh MS.
Cod. A
Cod. B
Printed Armenian Vulgate

version, which was made from it. We believe that the evidence points clearly to a Syriac rather than a Greek original for the Old Armenian. But this point has been disputed, and the question will have to be examined by experts in the light of the new Georgian evidence. In any case, since the Caesarean text is found in the Palestinian Syriac, we think we may tentatively postulate a Syriac version of it as existing in the fourth century, and may assume that the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary is in some way dependent on this 'postulated' Syriac version. Such a version must have been older than the Peshitto, especially if our suspicion be right that it was known to the translator of the Theophania of Eusebius.

The diagram opposite presents a picture of the results, some of them tentative, reached by our investigation. It must be viewed as subject to the necessary limitations of any such diagram in so complicated a matter. In the diagram extant forms are indicated by Clarendon type. To avoid a bewildering multiplicity of lines the Ecclesiastical Greek has been omitted; it should be understood to have affected, in varying ways, all stages except that of the Neutral text, the Old Syriac, the original Caesarean text, and perhaps of the 'postulated' Syriac, the Old Armenian, and the Old Georgian.

The most important result of these conclusions lies in the problems which they raise, and it seems expedient to consider briefly the course which future study might profitably take. We begin with the more detailed and narrower questions and then proceed to the wider issues.

(1) The evidence of Origen and Eusebius is sufficient to prove that in Caesarea in the third century a text was used which can be reconstructed with a relatively small margin of doubt from our group of manuscripts. The evidence of the Georgian, Armenian, and Palestinian Syriac versions probably shows that a text almost, though not quite, the same as this was current in Syriac in the fourth century. So much seems tolerably certain. The problems begin to increase in number and in difficulty when we come to readings where the authorities differ among themselves. If Origen and Eusebius differ, which is to be regarded as presenting the Caesarean text? If Origen and

Eusebius are on one side and the postulated Syriac text on the other, with the Greek MSS. of the family divided between them, what explanation are we to give? What is the relation to the Old Syriac of readings not found in the Greek MSS., but assumed for the postulated Syriac version on Georgian and Armenian evidence?

The only answer we can offer is the suggestion that the Caesarean text was never a definite single entity like the Vulgate or the Peshitto, but is analogous to the European Latin, which is not only its contemporary in time but remarkably similar to it in character (though not in detail). Both in the Caesarean text and in the European Latin we find a mixture of readings which seems to leave out the more striking features of the 'Western' text but to preserve many of its minor ones. Nevertheless, the evidence does not indicate that the ecclesiastical circle which used these texts followed clearly defined textual standards.[64] The MSS. of the European Latin can be easily recognized as neither African nor Vulgate; they were used at one period in one place, but they are full of variation. That is exactly the situation revealed by the Caesarean authorities. Excursus IV gives a reconstruction of the text for the three chapters which we have been studying, with an apparatus criticus of all the readings which seem to us to belong to the complex of variants which we call the Caesarean 'text.' This reconstructed text seems to us to show clearly that if time and opportunity permit it will be possible to edit a text of the gospels which can reasonably claim an authority equal to that of a fourth- or even third-century Greek MS. used in Caesarea, just as an edition of a b i ff^2 could claim an authority equal to that of a fourth-century Latin MS. used in Italy. Each claim would be subject to a certain amount of deduction for fortuitous error, but it would be substantially sound.

But before such a reconstruction could be made with perfect accuracy (though it may prove desirable not to wait for perfection), certain preliminary investigations are desirable.

[64] Did such standards exist for the New Testament before the fifth century? The earliest fixed texts that we know with certainty are the Peshitto and the Vulgate. Did Lucian or Hesychius standardize in the same way that Jerome did?

(*a*) We greatly need a proper edition of the Old Armenian. In our study of this version use was made among others of photographs of the gospel codex, Jerusalem 2555. The number of Caesarean readings which it contains is striking, and a glance at the evidence published by Macler shows that this is true of other early Armenian codices. Would it be impossible for European and American scholars to coöperate with native Armenian scholars to produce an edition of the Armenian New Testament in which the pertinent evidence of Georgian and Syriac sources should be incorporated in a manner comparable to Wordsworth and White's treatment of the Old Latin (especially of the Acts and epistles) in their edition of the Vulgate?

(*b*) The Greek MSS. with which we have dealt are for the most part well edited and accessible. But there are certain exceptions.

Codex 28 has not been accurately published. We were fortunate enough to have access to an admirable collation of this very difficult MS. by H. C. Hoskier, and this is the basis of our statements as to its readings, but other students have not this advantage and Codex 28 certainly ought to be published. Meanwhile we are immensely indebted to Mr. Hoskier for his kindness.

Again, since the publication of the text of Family 13 and of Family 1 our knowledge of the members of these two families has been increased. Family 1 is now known to include another MS. (1582 = Vatopedi 949), and family 13 includes 543, 788, 826, 828, and 983 as well as the original four (13, 69, 124, and 346) collated by Ferrar. Of these only 543 has been published (in Scrivener's Adversaria Critica Sacra). They are included in von Soden's apparatus, but too obscurely and often too inaccurately for convenient use. Codex 1582 adds little to our knowledge of family 1, though it certainly ought to be published, and we hope before long to print a collation of it which has been made by Mrs. Frederick Winslow. It was written, according to a colophon, in 949, a date earlier than can be assigned to any of the previously known members of the family, and although this date may be questioned, the manuscript was certainly written not later than the 11th century. Its text is

closely like that of Codex 1, though perhaps not quite so good; the addition of its readings would not lead to any serious change in the reconstruction of the text of family 1. Ultimately it will also be desirable to consider the relation of family 1 to Codex 22 and other MSS. grouped with the latter by von Soden, but a preliminary investigation leads us to expect relatively small results from such a study. The new MSS. of family 13 are more important. We hope to publish at least some parts of them before long, chiefly from photographs in our possession. They show that there are two sub-families within the Ferrar group. A collation will probably increase considerably the number of Caesarean readings, and the question of the relation between the two sub-families will prove interesting and difficult.

(*c*) Perhaps the most important piece of work which remains is the double task of collecting and studying the quotations from the other gospels in Origen and Eusebius. The studies which we have published have been intentionally limited to the text of Mark, and their results cannot safely be applied to the other gospels. Moreover, although we understand that Streeter's researches have led him to the conclusion that the text of the quotations from John in Origen's commentary on that gospel is consistently Neutral, little evidence has as yet been published on the point. A doubt arises when we remember that Streeter was misled in thinking that Origen abandoned the Neutral text when he removed to Caesarea; may it not be that Origen did not use the Neutral text in Alexandria at all? In the quotations from Mark the evidence shows (1) that he used the Neutral text after his arrival in Caesarea, (2) that the copy which he used was a mixed type (Neutral up to the middle of Mark xii and thereafter of the type of family Θ), and (3) that in later writings he used only the text of family Θ. For Mark there is not sufficient evidence to prove conclusively what text Origen used in Alexandria. We must return to this point later, but plainly the important question whether he used the Neutral text at all in Alexandria, can perhaps be answered by investigating the quotations from all the gospels in books i–v of the Commentary on John. Unfortunately we did not see this point until too late to deal with

it in this article, but we hope to report on it before long. The matter is complicated by the facts that there are very few quotations from Matthew and Luke in these books, that there are noticeably fewer variants in John than in Mark, and that some of the family-Θ manuscripts of great value in Mark may desert their allegiance in the other gospels.

Scarcely less important than the quotations of Origen are those of Eusebius, for which the manuscript tradition, though not perfect, is far better. These must be collected, gospel by gospel, and compared with the reconstructed text of family Θ. We hope to do this in the course of time, but it is not a small piece of work.

By such methods as these, and with these preliminaries completed in full or in part, it would be entirely possible to reconstruct a fair picture of the text in use in Caesarea in the fourth century, or even in the third, and of the amount of variation in it.

What light would this throw on the history of the gospel text in general?

The first problem which for many years is likely to engage at least the intermittent attention of all students of the New Testament is the origin of the Neutral text. The little more which can be said about it today as compared with fifty years ago intensifies rather than relieves the problem. Let us state the facts as we see them.

In the fourth century the Neutral text was used by Athanasius. This statement we take on trust from von Soden and others, who have examined the question; we do not ourselves know from actual study whether it is true, still less whether it is possible to determine the type of Athanasius' text as that found in B or in ℵ or in LΔ; the statement is commonly made that the Athanasian text is in the main that of B. It is certain that these questions cannot be settled without considering the places in which Athanasius wrote. He was indeed bishop of Alexandria, but something like half his episcopate was spent in exile. Was he using the same type of manuscript throughout? The situation discovered in the case of Origen's

quotations may well be found repeated with Athanasius. We will assume, however, for the moment that the quotations of Athanasius, when studied in detail, will confirm the accepted view that he always used a Neutral text of the B-type, and that he did so because it was the text used in Alexandria.

Almost at the same time that Athanasius was writing, ℵ and B were being made. A good case can be made for the Alexandrian origin of B. As to ℵ claims are made both for Alexandria and for Caesarea, and we shall probably never know with complete certainty. The case for Alexandria is stated in Lake's introduction to the photographic facsimile of the Codex Sinaiticus. Some fresh arguments for Caesarea have been recently urged by Lagrange in the Revue Biblique (January, 1926, p. 91). It should be noted in this connection that one point which seems not to have been brought out before is that the corrections made in the gospels by ℵ^{c} (who probably worked in Caesarea) appear to have no connection whatever with the Caesarean text, but to have considerable affinities with the text of L. We have some statistics bearing on this subject which we hope to publish before long. Another line of evidence, which can hardly be brought into doubt, for the Egyptian use of the Neutral text of the other gospels in the fourth century is to be found in the papyrus fragments, but unfortunately it does not apply to Mark, of which no early papyri have been discovered.

Thus, though there is no doubt that the Neutral text was in existence in the fourth century, and was used in Egypt, the evidence is less extensive than is often supposed. And if we go back seventy years, from Athanasius to Origen, although we still find the same text, yet so far as the gospel of Mark is concerned there is no evidence that clearly connects it with Alexandria, and it may belong to Caesarea.

This unexpected conclusion is the result of the investigation on pp. 261 ff. That shows that nothing enables us to identify certainly the type of text of the gospel of Mark used in Alexandria by Origen. There is only one really significant quotation (from Mark i. 1 f.), and in this the Neutral text and the Caesarean are almost the same. There are however two variants,

both pointing to the Caesarean rather than the Neutral text, though not decisively, and it is interesting to notice that the Codex Sinaiticus is once more a factor in our hesitation.

The first is the omission by Origen of υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ in Mark i. 1. This is undoubtedly a Caesarean reading, for it is supported by Θ 28, the Georgian, Armenian, and Palestinian Syriac. Since it is also found in Irenaeus, it may be the 'Western,' and even the 'true,' text, but was it the Neutral reading? The only evidence that it was is the support given to it by ℵ. Thus in order to prove that Origen while in Alexandria used the Neutral text of Mark, it is necessary to maintain that in this passage ℵ alone among the ancient codices has preserved the Neutral text. It seems to us more probable that there is a Western or a Caesarean element in ℵ.

The second variant is less striking. In vs. 2 all the early authorities, including both Caesarean and Neutral, read 'in Isaiah the prophet,' instead of 'in the prophets' of the later texts, but the Caesarean text has Ἡσαΐᾳ, and the Neutral text τῷ Ἡσαΐᾳ. Origen's quotation omits the article and is in so far definitely Caesarean. Of course no one would build a large theory on the omission of an article, but it is a significant fact that at the only two points where the Caesarean and Neutral texts vary in this quotation from Mark i. 1 f. Origen stands on the Caesarean side.

Thus, so far as the evidence goes, and it obviously does not go far enough to give certainty, it would seem that for his text of Mark Origen during his early days in Alexandria used a codex akin to family Θ, then deserted it in favor of a copy of Mark with a Neutral text (at least in the first twelve chapters) which he found in Caesarea, and finally, some years later, reverted to the Θ-text which he had formerly used in Alexandria.

But if this is so, we are as far as ever from knowing the origin or history of the Neutral text of Mark. We can assume with fair probability that when Origen left Alexandria — in some perturbation and rather hurriedly — he did not take with him any manuscript of Mark. He would consequently use at first those which he found in Caesarea. Later on he was able to obtain copies of the text which he had formerly used. But we

cannot in the smallest degree explain why the text which Origen used for a short time in Caesarea and soon abandoned should have been taken up in the following century by Athanasius.

The alternative view introduces difficulties of its own. If we suppose that our interpretation of the evidence furnished by the quotation of Mark i. 1 f. is wrong, and that Origen really did use a Neutral text in Alexandria, it becomes easier to see why Athanasius used that text, but in that case Origen must have taken a manuscript of it with him to Caesarea, and then after a few years been converted to the belief that the text of the Θ-family which he found in Caesarea was really better, so that he used it for the rest of his life. If so, what was the argument which convinced him? If we only knew!

Continuing to use the Neutral text as a starting point, let us assume that even if its place and date of origin be unknown, it can be fixed as a fourth-century Alexandrian text by the evidence of Athanasius in combination with the papyri and the well-known group of MSS. headed by ℵ and B, just as the text of family Θ is known to be a fourth-century Caesarean text by the evidence of Eusebius in combination with a group of MSS. headed by Θ and 565. The two problems which immediately arise are as to the relation of this Neutral text to the Caesarean text and to the group of which CLΔΨ33 are the most important.

To take the latter question first, CLΔΨ33 present a text which is in the main Neutral, though somewhat corrected by the Ecclesiastical text; but it also contains a remarkable sediment, as it were, of 'Western' readings. Since Barnard and Burkitt pointed out the largely 'Western' character of the quotations from the gospels in Clement of Alexandria ("The Biblical Text of Clement of Alexandria," Texts and Studies V), it has been natural to suggest that the 'Western' element in the Alexandrian MSS. may be a survival from the old 'Western' text used by Clement. But the point has never been worked out, and perhaps the material is too meagre for any convincing treatment.

The relation of the Neutral to the Caesarean text is, of course, a new problem only in so far as the identification of family Θ with Caesarea now makes it possible to date and localize that family. The situation is this. There is no decisive evidence to

prove that the Neutral text is older than the Caesarean, or the Caesarean than the Neutral; both can be traced back to the third century, both were used by Origen, neither can be proved to have been used before his time. Moreover, they are closely connected. Nearly half the readings which are not found in the Ecclesiastical text but are in the Caesarean are also found in the Neutral. The remainder of the Caesarean readings are either 'Western' (Syriac or Latin) or are peculiar. The facts could be explained equally well as due (1) to the correction of a Neutral text by a 'Western' standard, producing the Caesarean text, or (2) to the correction of a 'Western' text by a Neutral standard, also producing the Caesarean text, or (3) to the creation of the Neutral text by a revision of the Caesarean text. In this last case the so-called 'Western' readings of the Caesarean would consist of ancient readings, also found in 'Western' authorities, which happened not to be adopted for the newly created Neutral text. We do not at present see any criterion which would enable a choice to be made between these possibilities. The investigation would have to proceed by a study of the internal probability of the readings in detail, which might or might not lead to a conclusion.

We rather incline to think that a more correct view of the situation can be obtained by considering the full importance of the suggestion that the early text really resolves itself into a number of local texts which are, as it were, interlocking. The divergence between these local texts can be stated in terms of time as well as of place. Let us rapidly review the known facts.

What do we know about the text in the second century? We have only two, or at the most three, perfectly certain witnesses: Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Clement of Alexandria, and the last of these gives relatively little help, even apart from the uncertainty whether any of his works were written before the third century or in Alexandria. To these might perhaps be added Tatian, if we knew what text he used in making the Diatessaron and what he did with it. But we do know something of the text used by Irenaeus and of that used by Tertullian, although the latter's writings were in part composed in the third century: they both used cognate forms of the 'West-

ern' text. So far as we can see, the text used by Clement of Alexandria was of the same nature, and those who claim knowledge of the text used by Tatian generally put it into the same class. What more do we really know of the text of the second century? It is often stated that the Old Syriac and Old Latin belong to that century. It is quite possible that they do. But proof has never been given. Who can say with complete certainty whether Tertullian used a Latin version or himself translated the Greek, and who can prove that the Old Syriac existed before the year 200? If, however, the hypothesis be accepted that both Old Latin and Old Syriac belong to the second century, we have merely greatly increased the evidence for the existence of two local texts, one belonging to Africa and the other to Mesopotamia, which are classed together as 'Western' in the sense that they are not Neutral, but for no other good reason. They differ very markedly from each other, though they also frequently agree against all the later types.

Turning to the third century proper, we find that certainly in Carthage and probably in Edessa, locally the two extremes of Christianity, the second-century 'Western' text was still preserved. It was used by Cyprian in Carthage and, a little later, by Aphraates in Mesopotamia, though in his case the question is complicated by his use of the Diatessaron. And in Africa the same text was used for at least another century and a half. Augustine still used the African text, substantially unchanged since the time of Cyprian, until he was converted to the use of the Vulgate. Ephrem Syrus never used anything but the Diatessaron in the gospels and a strongly 'Western' text of Acts of which no manuscript has survived.

Leaving these two extremes and turning to the central districts, we find that at the end of the third century and the beginning of the fourth three texts were dominant. In Italy the European Latin was supreme; in Caesarea the Caesarean text was in use, and there is no further trace of the Neutral text there, although it had earlier been used in Caesarea by Origen; in Alexandria the Neutral text had become dominant. These three texts — European Latin, Caesarean, and Neutral— seem to hold an interior position both in time and place. They

stand half-way in point of time between the 'Western' text of the second century and the Ecclesiastical text of the fifth, and they occupy a geographical position in the centre of Christianity between Carthage and Edessa. The problem is whether they are revisions or 'primitive' texts. Unfortunately we do not know what were the central texts in the second century. Did Italy and Palestine use at that time the same type of text as they did in the third century, or had they then the same type as the exterior districts, and did they revise it so as to produce the Caesarean text and the European Latin? The European Latin is thought by many of the best Latin scholars to be a revision of the African, but textually it not infrequently agrees with the Neutral and Caesarean against the African; or, to put the matter in another way, when there is a difference of reading between Carthage and Edessa the Italian, Alexandrian, and Palestinian texts agree sometimes with one, sometimes with the other, and we suspect, though we do not at present know the facts, that the text of Rome will prove more often to agree with Carthage and the text of Caesarea more often with Edessa. Does this mean survival or revision? If it be revision, by what standard was the revision made?

If Burkitt be right in holding that the Evangelion da-Mepharreshe represents the Greek text used in Antioch in the second century, and C. H. Turner right in holding that the African Latin version was made in Rome, the 'geographically extreme' character of the evidence for the text of the second century is unimportant. There is much to be said for both of these views, especially for Burkitt's; if they are accepted, the case for regarding the third-century texts as revisions is certainly strengthened. But at present it is safer not to treat either of the two theories as established.

The general picture which is presented is that of a widespread tendency toward a more uniform text, a movement which culminated in the fourth and fifth centuries in the production of the Antiochian and Ecclesiastical texts. The view of Westcott and Hort, that the Neutral text was always in existence, would probably lead to the conclusion that knowledge of it brought about this tendency to assimilation. A plausible

suggestion is that of J. H. Ropes, that the Neutral text represents the text of the gospels before the four-fold canon was adopted, and the 'Western' text a reworking of it for the purposes of the four-fold canon. It may be so, or it may be the other way. The African Latin and the Old Syriac may have been the 'pre-canonical' text. In any case Ropes would agree with us that the only way in which this can be proved is by the consideration of internal probability of readings, in that limited number of cases which lend themselves to this method of inquiry. Which is, in itself, the better text — that is, the one more likely to have been written first — the 'Western' text or the Neutral? The introduction of this question makes the situation today curiously like that which existed in the time of Westcott and Hort. In those days Burgon maintained vehemently that the text of the minuscules represented an old text which had been forgotten at the time of the making of ℵ and B but was later recovered by the church. The answer made to him was that the Neutral text was proved to be the 'true' text by the objective evidence of MSS., versions, and fathers which supported it against the Textus Receptus. Against the minuscules of the Middle Ages Hort successfully advanced the superior antiquity of ℵ B Origen and Athanasius. Now the position of the text is reversed. The evidence of Origen has proved ambiguous, and the most that can be said is that the Neutral text is one of the Greek texts, but not the only one, current in the third century. The evidence of the second century, fragmentary though it be, supports (as Westcott and Hort frankly admitted) the claims of a text which neither Burgon nor Hort advocated, though Rendel Harris inclined to it — the 'Western' text. The 'Western' evidence is earlier than the Neutral, though that does not necessarily prove that the 'Western' text is the earlier. If, however, we are after all to believe that the text of the later witnesses is better than that of the earlier ones it can only be by reversing the method of Hort, who was followed by Sanday, and by insisting on subjective rather than objective criticism. This we believe is right. Ultimately all intelligent criticism is subjective.

Meanwhile something remains for objective methods. It may be that Westcott and Hort did not reconstruct, as they believed themselves to have done, the 'original text' of the Greek Testament; but they at least printed a text which with very slight change and the addition of a simple apparatus would give us one of the great 'central' texts of the third century. Wordsworth and White's Vulgate includes (especially in Acts and epistles) an adequate presentation of the European Latin; we hope that the present article has shown how the same could be done for another 'central' text — the Caesarean. Finally, it would not be impossible, though it would be somewhat more difficult, to give in a usable form all the available evidence for the text of the second century. Until these things are done the stage is not really set for intelligent discussion of the ultimate questions which criticism will have to face.

EXCURSUS I

The Ecclesiastical Text

Kirsopp Lake

It is well known that as compared with the early recensions the vast majority of manuscripts contain a different text. But within the limits of this text, which von Soden called K (Κοινή), there is considerable variation. Although in itself relatively unimportant, this variation complicates the investigation of mixed texts such as are found in the group of manuscripts which witness to the Caesarean text.

The situation is this. Speaking generally, all the Caesarean witnesses have been corrupted by the influence of the late Greek text. The true Caesarean text can be reached by comparing the various manuscripts, and accepting as the family reading that which is not found in the late text. For this purpose it is generally sufficient to take the printed Textus Receptus as the late Greek text. Indeed, to do so is the only practicable course. But difficulty arises in two directions.

1. In a considerable number of readings the Textus Receptus differs from the majority of late MSS. In these cases the mechanical application of the rule of taking the reading which is not in the Textus Receptus yields a result exactly the opposite to the one desired.

2. Cases of triple or multiple variation. The cause here may be genuine variation within the Caesarean group. Each early type, Neutral, Western, or Caesarean, has variants within its own limits, and the editor of any one recension would be obliged to print a considerable apparatus criticus of readings which can lay legitimate claim to be considered true variants within the type, rather than corruptions introduced from outside. On the other hand, the triple or multiple variation may be due to the fact that the several Caesarean manuscripts were corrupted by various late texts different from one another.

For these reasons it is desirable to know the history of the late text. How far does it differ from the Textus Receptus?

How far does it contain variants? How far can these variants be regarded as forming separate recensions or groups?

To answer these questions only two practicable lines of approach offer themselves — the study of von Soden and the study of a mass of late manuscripts.

Von Soden, in the second Abteilung of the first Part of his work, pp. 712–892, gives an elaborate analysis of the K-text. This must be supplemented by his discussion of those I-texts which have been largely corrected to a K-standard and of which he treats on pp. 1109–1275.

His results are these. There was originally a pure K-text, of which the uncials Ω and V are typical examples. This he calls K^1. It was later twice revised, and these revisions he calls K^x and K^r. There are also many manuscripts which represent the attempts of scribes to correct the I-text to a K-standard. Of these the types BOΦΣΠ and K^a are the ones most thoroughly corrected, and K^a was specially popular.

Unfortunately von Soden's statement of the facts is so obscure that the student is continually at a loss to know what he is to regard as the reading of any given group, nor does von Soden's apparatus criticus make matters much better.

Despairing of ever being able to obtain clear results from von Soden's pages, and questioning the validity of some of his conclusions, we determined to take one chapter — Mark xi — and collate it in as many manuscripts as possible. It was obviously impracticable within the limits of reasonable time to collate all the gospels or even the whole of one, but we believed that a single chapter would show how much variation can be expected, and how far it is possible to detect groups.

We collated this chapter with the Textus Receptus (Lloyd's edition, Oxford, 1894) in all the manuscripts (excluding lectionaries and commentaries) on Mt. Sinai, at Patmos, and in the Patriarchal Library and the collection of St. Saba at Jerusalem.

We omitted from consideration Codex 1241, which we hope to publish fully before long, as it has a remarkable text, for which von Soden's classification is inaccurate. We did not include 1192 and 1210, which von Soden classed with his H^r-group (that is, fam^1), because, though not specially related to family 1, they

seem to us to have weak Caesarean texts; but we have included 1188, classed by von Soden in his Φ-group, for in this chapter it is in fact not substantially different from the K-codices.

It is desirable to emphasize that the collation is only relatively accurate. No collation can be fully trusted unless it has been checked at least twice; and in the nature of the case our collations could not be checked. In von Soden's collations one detail of the method employed (which we have been able to avoid) increased, as it were mechanically, the gravity of the collators' errors. Von Soden's collations appear to have been made with a modern critical text — certainly they are printed as an apparatus to his own critical text. The standard with which the collations were made thus contained all the 'good' readings, and consequently in collating a late MS. every failure to observe a variant resulted in introducing the erroneous indication that the MS. positively contained an early reading of a type contrary to the general type of the MS. If the collation had been made with the Textus Receptus, such slips would merely have caused individual (and often fortuitous) variants to be omitted from the apparatus. Under von Soden's method the result of error in collation is to make a late MS. appear more like the modern critical text than it really is; under the opposite method the result is merely to make the MS. appear closer to the Textus Receptus than it really is.

We print our collation in full (pp. 349–357) because we were surprised by two things — first, by the large number of variants, and secondly, by the absence of close relationship between the MSS. — and because we think that many students will be glad to see the result of a full collation of a considerable body of late MSS.

Using our collations, we came to the conclusion that in Mark xi the most popular text in MSS. of the tenth to the fourteenth century (hereinafter referred to as the 'Ecclesiastical' text) differed from the Textus Receptus in the following variants:

xi. 1 βηθφαγη] βηθσφαγη
2 αποστελει] αποστελλει
18 απολεσουσι] απολεσωσι
32 αλλ εαν] om εαν

In the group given below the evidence is such that we may fairly say that this later, or Ecclesiastical, text was not homogeneous. Some of this variation is probably due to admixture, especially with K^a, but part of it is merely accidental. The readings in the following list may fairly be regarded as variants within the late text. Those marked with an asterisk are also found in K^a and are quite common in the Ecclesiastical text. For the discussion of K^a see pp. 342–346.

xi. 2 ουδεις] *ουπω ουδεις
4 τον πωλον] *om τον
5 εστηκοτων] εστωτων
6 ενετειλατο] ενετειλατο αυτοις
8 εις την οδον bis] *εν τη οδω bis
18 οι γραμματεις και οι αρχιερεις] *οι αρχιερεις και οι γραμματεις
21 εξηρανται] εξηραται
22 ιησους] *ο ιησους
29 καγω] και εγω
31 ελογιζοντο] *διελογιζοντο

Other judgments might reduce or enlarge this list, but probably not very much. It should be noted that it represents somewhat less variation 'within the family' than would be found in a similar treatment of the Neutral or Caesarean texts.

Speaking generally, the evidence in our collations for the grouping of the codices which contain this text is singularly negative. There is extraordinarily little evidence of close family relationship between MSS. even in the same library. They have essentially the same text with a large amount of sporadic variation.

It seems to us that this text is clearly that of the Byzantine church, certainly after the ninth century, and possibly some centuries earlier. In all probability it is the same as von Soden's K^x.

We cannot at present distinguish anything which can be identified with von Soden's K^r, nor do we feel any confidence in his K^1-text as a really distinct text. Taking Ω and V, to

which access is easy, as representing the K^1-text, we find that in this chapter it varies from the Textus Receptus only in the following places:

xi. 3 αποστελει] *αποστελλει
4 τον πωλον] om τον
18 απολεσουσι] *απολεσωσι
22 ιησους] ο ιησους
32 αλλ εαν] *om εαν

The readings marked with an asterisk are those of the Ecclesiastical text; the omission of τον in vs. 4 is a K^a-reading which is often found in late MSS.; and ο ιησους for ιησους in vs. 22 is also common, though not in K^a, which omits ιησους altogether. On the other hand Ω and V both read βηθφαγη, not βηθσφαγη, and this is characteristic of the K^a-text but rare in MSS. of the more common Ecclesiastical text. Our collations show that out of the 119 MSS. which we collated 20 agree in omitting τον in vs. 4 and reading ο ιησους in vs. 22, but only one (1324) reads βηθφαγη. It is possible that further research would confirm von Soden's distinction between K^1 and the later text, but at present we do not feel convinced.

More important is the case of von Soden's K^a-family. The K^a-text is undoubtedly akin to the K-family, but is clearly distinguishable from the common Ecclesiastical text.

It is described by von Soden in I, II, pp. 850–893, 1160–1170, and 1460–1468. In the first of these places he discusses the evidence for the K^a-text; in the second, its nature and relation to other texts; in the third he deals with it incidentally in connection with the quotations of Chrysostom, the Cappadocian fathers, and Theodoret. There are also some important references to it in the section dealing with the 'Antioch' commentary (pp. 805–844).

His general position is that K^a represents a revision of an I-text by K^1. The reviser chose always the variant which had a parallel in the gospels. In details of spelling and the like he followed K^1. This appears to us to mean merely that the MSS. are late; in manuscripts, as in printed texts, orthography is a matter of fashion.

The evidence for K^a is divided by von Soden into two groups, of which the second may be disregarded for the present.

The best representatives are:

von Soden		Gregory	von Soden		Gregory
*71	=	K	1018	=	114
*73	=	Π	*1045	=	1079
*79	=	1500	*1056	=	1816
*1089	=	1346	δ358	=	1398
1095	=	652	1330	=	1008
105	=	389	1339	=	1546
249	=	116	1344	=	1561
285	=	265	*210	=	178
δ161	=	796	1166	=	1781
*110	=	72	249	=	116
*1121	=	1219	*285	=	265
*δ459	=	489	1236	=	1154
4001	=	904	334	=	537
*1144	=	1478	4015	=	1699
461	=	775	1265	=	1009

He also classed the Codex Alexandrinus (A) with this group.

Those marked with an asterisk are the best, in von Soden's opinion. It is, however, extremely hard to discover from von Soden's apparatus exactly what he regards as K^a-readings. Fortunately A is easily accessible,[65] and KΠ are quoted fully by both Tregelles and Tischendorf. Using the consensus of two out of three MSS. we can get a rough idea of the K^a-text and judge its degree of variation from the Ecclesiastical text and from the Textus Receptus. A collation with the Textus Receptus yields the following variants; the three marked with an asterisk are also Ecclesiastical, that is, are cases in which the Textus Receptus happens to have preserved unusual readings.

xi. 2 βηθφαγη] sic
ουδεις] ουπω ουδεις
3 αποστελει] *αποστελλει

[65] We are, however, far from convinced that Codex Alexandrinus really belongs to this group.

4 τον πωλον] om τον
8 εις την οδον bis] εν τη οδῳ bis
10 ευλογημενη] και ευλογημενη
13 συκην] συκην μιαν
ευρησει τι] τι ευρησει
14 ο ιησους] om
15 αγοραζοντας] τους αγοραζοντας
17 εποιησατε αυτον] αυτον εποιησατε
18 οι γραμματεις και οι αρχιερεις] οι αρχιερεις και οι γραμματεις
απολεσουσι] *απολεσωσι
19 οτε] οταν
εξεπορευετο] εξεπορευοντο
22 ιησους] ο ιησους
24 αν] εαν
26 τοις ουρανοις] ουρανοις
29 υμας καγω] καγω υμας
31 ελογιζοντο] διελογιζοντο
32 αλλ εαν] *om εαν
33 ο ιησους αποκριθεις] αποκριθεις ο ιησους

Using this list as a guide, the following MSS. can be clearly identified from our collations as presenting a relatively pure K^a-text. The numbers used, here and elsewhere in this Excursus, are those of Gregory's list.

1318 1313 1219 1220 1200 1223 1346

These are given in the order of their apparent merit, and the first four certainly would be important in any attempt to edit the K^a-text.

Besides these the following represent a mixture of K^a and the Ecclesiastical text:

1166 1196 1198 1201 1203 1204 1208 1215 1216 1217 1224 1233 1319 1338 1386 1389.

The most important observation made by von Soden is that the K^a-text was used by Theodoret, and in Luke and John by Chrysostom. He thinks that in Matthew and Mark Chrysos-

tom preferred a K^1-text, though he is inclined to ascribe to him the creation of the K^a-text.

If it be true that K^a is the text of Theodoret, there is a presumption that it, as distinct from the Ecclesiastical, is the Antiochian text of the fifth century. Rahlfs holds ("Der Text des Septuaginta-Psalters," p. 171) that in the LXX Theodoret used a pure Lucianic text, and without assuming too positively the existence of a Lucianic text in the New Testament, there is some attractiveness in the supposition that K^a is the Lucianic recension and was used as the chief basis of the Ecclesiastical text, thus reversing von Soden's theory.[66]

It appears clear that it would not be impossible, on the basis of collations which could be obtained with relative ease, to reconstruct the K^a-text and the Ecclesiastical text. If this could be done, it would afford a far firmer basis for collations than

[66] It has sometimes been overlooked that the late standardized texts in Greek, Latin, Syriac, and Coptic represent revisions of the 'central' texts of the third or fourth century, not of those found in the outlying districts. The Vulgate is a revision of the European Latin; the Peshitto is probably based on a text drawn from Antioch, though in our ignorance of that text its exact relation to it is by no means clear; the Bohairic represents the text of Alexandria; the later Greek texts were apparently formed as the result of a compromise between Antioch and Alexandria. It is this last point which calls for more investigation. We have endeavored to show that there is reason to distrust von Soden's analysis of the later texts. If it be thought worth while, to borrow a classic phrase, to 'do so much to learn so little,' it will probably be possible to make generalizations from the small differences which divide the mass of late MSS. into divergent groups. It seems to us that the text which von Soden calls K^a is probably the oldest form of the late text. As Streeter has suggested, it may very well be the Lucianic text and it would not be at all difficult to reconstruct it with tolerable certainty. But we do not know whether the presence of a considerable number of K^a-readings in the Caesarean text means that the Caesarean MSS. have been corrected by the K^a-text, or that the K^a-text was partly based on the Caesarean. The point is not one of capital importance, but it affects our judgment concerning a certain number of readings in Caesarean MSS. Speaking generally, it seems to us extremely likely that the Caesarean text was really one of the ingredients which entered into the making of the later texts, and to those who think as we do — that the mental attitude of an age is apt to be reflected in its texts, we would commend a study of the difference between the general character of the Caesarean and Neutral texts on the one hand and the K^a and Ecclesiastical texts on the other. The third and fourth centuries used the Neutral and Caesarean texts; both are marked by clearness of choice and decision between alternatives. It is not an accident that these centuries were those which formulated the great doctrines of Catholic Christianity, and that the fifth century, which used the Antiochian and Ecclesiastical texts, was in the East chiefly characterized by compromise in doctrine and by conflation in text.

the Textus Receptus, and would often help to elucidate questions of mixture in the corrupt MSS. of early texts.

One other group appears clearly in our collations; it is quite plain, but we have failed to identify it with any of von Soden's groups. It consists of four MSS.: 1169, 1173, 1204, and 1385, and the collation of it with the Textus Receptus is as follows:

xi. 1 ιερουσαλημ] ιεροσολυμα 1169 1173 1385
βηθφαγη] βηθσφαγη 1169 1173 1204 1385
3 αυτον αποστελ. ωδε] αποστελ. αυτον ωδε 1169 1173 1204 1385
αποστελει] αποστελλει 1169 1173 1204 1385
4 om τον before πωλον 1173 1204 1385
6 καθως] καθα 1169 1385
7 επ αυτω] επ αυτον 1169 1173 1204 1385
8 εις την οδον 1°] εν τη οδω 1169 1173 1204 1385
17 εδιδασκεν λεγων αυτοις] εδιδασκεν αυτους λεγων 1204 1385 (1169 1173)
21 εξηρανται] εξηραται 1169 1204 1385
22 ιησους] ο ιησους 1169 1173 1204 1385
26 αφησει] αφησει υμιν 1173 1385
om τα παραπτωματα υμων 1169 1173 1385
27 om παλιν 1169 1173 1204 1385
31 προς εαυτους] εν εαυτοις 1169 1173 1204 1385
ελογιζοντο] διελογιζοντο 1169 1173 1204 1385
32 εφοβουντο] φοβουμεθα 1169 1173 1385
απαντες] παντες 1169 1173

Moreover it is noteworthy that this group agrees with the Textus Receptus in the following passages in which the Textus Receptus has readings not found in most MSS. of the Ecclesiastical text:

xi. 18 απολεσουσι, not απολεσωσι
29 υμας καγω, not καγω υμας
32 αλλ εαν, not αλλ without εαν

The case is a little different with regard to the text which von Soden regards as typical of the group of MSS. which contain the Antiochian commentary (his A^c-group). He ascribes

to this recension the following variants in Mark xi (see von Soden, I, II, p. 825). We give from our collations the codices supporting each variant.

xi. 1 βηθφαγη] βηθσφαγη c. paene omn
4 εξω] ante προς την θυραν c. 1197 1227 1163
6 ενετειλατο] add αυτοις c. 1186 1216 1230 1232 1240 1242 1243 1164* 1167 1169 1181 1317 1320
8 ιματια] χιτωνας c. 1190 1197 1211 1227 1163 1176 1388 1321
εις την οδον bis] εν τη οδω bis c. 1196 1197 1200 1201 1204 1214 1217 1219 1220 1223 1226 1230 1233 1169 1171 1173 1385 1313 1318 1319
13 συκην] add μιαν c. 1200 1219 1220 1225 1233 1313 1319
21 εξηρανται] εξηραται c. 1190 1195 1196 1197 1204 1208 1211 1214 1215 1217 1227 2293 2294 1169 1176 1181 1385 1966 1315 1321
23 πιστευση] πιστευσει c. 1201 1202 1163 1164 1171 1181 1966 1314 1317 1318 1320

Of these variants βηθσφαγη is undoubtedly the typical Ecclesiastical reading and proves nothing. But though there is here clear proof of the existence of the variants which von Soden regards as typical of the A^c-text of the Antiochian commentary, they are not found in any special group of our codices. Apart from the reading βηθσφαγη there are seven variants: of these four are supported by 1197 and three by 1227, but no other codex supports more than two.

Therefore, whether this special combination of variants really represents a recension must be settled by an investigation of all the MSS. of the Antiochian commentary. So far as our MSS. go, they merely show sporadic variation, and no group of this type can be distinguished.

These results are both instructive and disconcerting. They are disconcerting because they substantiate fully only two of von Soden's subdivisions of the K-text. Of course the others may prove to be realities, but one would have supposed that the difference between K^1, K^x, and K^r would have been plain

in a collation of over a hundred MSS. for any chapter. It is impossible to repress a doubt whether von Soden's analysis of the K-text is not as incorrect as his classification of the I-codices.

The results are instructive, especially in their negative aspects. This collation covers three of the great ancient collections of MSS.; and these are not modern conglomerations, brought together from all directions. Many of the MSS. now at Sinai, Patmos, and Jerusalem must be codices written in the scriptoria of these monasteries. We expected to find that a collation covering all the MSS. in each library would show many cases of direct copying. But there are practically no such cases. What does this mean?

Before answering the question, it may be well to put another. Why are there only a few fragments (even in the two oldest of the monastic collections, Sinai and St. Saba) which come from a date earlier than the 10th century?

There must have been in existence many thousands of manuscripts of the gospels in the great days of Byzantine prosperity, between the fourth and the tenth centuries. There are now extant but a pitiably small number. Moreover, the amount of direct genealogy which has been detected in extant codices is almost negligible. Nor are many known MSS. sister codices. The Ferrar group and family 1 are the only reported cases of the repeated copying of a single archetype, and even for the Ferrar group there were probably two archetypes rather than one. Family 1 is much smaller. Codices 1 and 1582 may be direct copies of a single archetype, and it is possible that 118, 209, and 131 are direct descendants from the same archetype. Codex 205 is a copy made at Bessarion's request from 209. Thus we have at most nine Ferrar MSS. representing one exemplar, and five MSS. of family 1 representing another; and even this result is doubtful. Apart from these two there seem to be no groups of MSS. which are conceivably descendants of a single lost codex. There are cognate groups — families of distant cousins — but the manuscripts which we have are almost all orphan children without brothers or sisters.

Taking this fact into consideration along with the negative

result of our collation of MSS. at Sinai, Patmos, and Jerusalem, it is hard to resist the conclusion that the scribes usually destroyed their exemplars when they had copied the sacred books.

Collation of Greek MSS. for Mark xi

It will be noted that the designations of the MSS., which follow Gregory's system, are not all arranged in numerical order. This is because the numbers in our collations naturally pursue the order of the several libraries containing our MSS.

xi. 1 *και οτε εγγιζουσιν*] *τω καιρω εκεινω οτε ηγγισεν ο ιησους* 1174 *και οτε ηγγισεν ο Ιησους* 1966
εγγιζουσιν] *ηγγισαν* 1166
ιερουσαλημ] *ιεροσολυμα* 1216 1169 1173 1174 1385
εις β.] *και ηλθον εις β.* 1236
βηθφαγη] *βηθσφαγη* 1187 1188 1189 1190 1196 1197 1198 1199 1200 1202 1203 1204 1205 1206 1208 1211 1213 1214 1215 1216 1217 1218 1220 1221 1222 1223 1224 1225 1227 1230 1232 1236 1237–1242 1243 1247 1248 1250 1251 1252 1253 2292 2293 2294 1163–1169 1171 1173 1174 1176 1179 1180 1181 1385 1388 1389 1901 1966 1315 1316 1317 1318 1319 1320 1323 1328–1331 1333–1335 1339 1341 1343–1345 1348 *βιθσφαγη* 1193 1322 *βισφαγη* 1186 *βησφαγη* 1321 1326 1346 *βηθ'φαγη* 1175
βηθαναιαν] *βιθαναιαν* 1314* *βηθανια* 1319 om 1330
το ορος] *ορος* 1142
αποστελλει] *απεστειλε* 1207 1212 1213 1215 1217 1225 1324 1335
τοτε αποστ. 1330
δυο των] *δυο εκ των* 1216 1243
2 *υπαγετε . . . αυτην*] om 1186
κωμην] *πολιν* 1200 1223 1318 om *την κωμην* 1319*
κατεναντι] *απεναντι* 1187 1229 1243 1181 1333 1335
υμων] *ημων* 1204
εισπορευομενοι] *πορευομενοι* 1205
εις 2°] om 1239
ευρησετε] *ευρησητε* 1171 *ευρησεται* 1204 1174

δεδεμενον] δεδεμενην 1200
εφ ον] εφ ω 1235
ουδεις] ουπω ουδεις 1188 1195 1196 1198 1200 1201 1207 1209 1212 1213 1219 1220 1233 1235 1164 1179 1386 1313 1315 1318 1319 1324 1326 1335 1340 1343 1346 ουδεποτε ουδεις 1341
κεκαθικε] κεκαθηκε 1187 1197 1200 1203 1205 1206 1207 1209* 1212 1215 1216 1219 1220 1221 1225 1226 1240 1243 1250 1166 1174 1179 1181 1314 1315 1322 1324 1333 1341 1343 1345–1347 εκαθισε 1236 1239 κεκαθηται 1242
αγαγετε] απαγετε 1188
αγαγετε] αγαγετε μοι 1186 1193 1232

3 ποιειτε . . . . αυτου] om 1344
ποιειτε] ποιητε 1188 1196
τουτο] τουτω 1197
οτι] om 1317 1348
και ευθεως . . . ωδε] om 1225
αυτον αποστ. ωδε] αποστ. αυτον ωδε 1204 1208 2293 2294 1169 1173 1385
αποστελει] αποστελλει 1186 1187 1188 1190 1191 1193 1196 1197–1199 1200 1201 1202 1203 1204 1205 1206 1207 1227 1229 1230 1232 1237 1240 1242 1243 1247 1248 1250–1253 2292 2294 1163 1165 1169 1172 1173 1175 1176 1179 1180 1181 1385 1388 1389 1901 1966 1314 1315 1316 1317 1318 1319 1321 1322 1323 1324 1328–1331 1333–1335 1338 1341 1344 1345 1347 αποστελλεῖ 1239 1171 1174
ωδε] ωδε 1174 before αποστελει 2293

4 απηλθον] ηλθον 1386
δε] ουν 1200^{corr}
τον πωλον] om τον 1187 1188 1193 1195 1196 1200 1203 1204 1205 1206 1207 1209 1212 1215 1216 1219 1220 1225 1226 1229 1230 1243 2293 2294 1164 1168 1171 1173 1174 1175 1179 1385 1966 1313 1315 1317 1318 1319 1322 1324 1326 1333 1335 1338 1341 1343 1344 1347

προς την θυραν εξω] εξω προς την θυραν 1197 1227 1163 προς την θυρα (sic) 1174

επι] om 1203 1234 1335–1340

αμφοδου] αμφοδιου 1314

5 εστηκοτων] εστωτων 1189 1195 1199 1202 1213 1220 1224 1229 1230 1236 1242 1247 1250 1251 1165–1167 1180 1389 1901 1315 1316 1323 1326 1328 1334 1335 1339

ποιειτε] ποιητε 1188 1174

6 ειπον αυτοις] om αυτοις 1242

καθως] καθα 1169 1385

ενετειλατο] ενετειλατο αυτοις 1186 1216 1230 1232 1240 1242 1243 1164* 1167 1169 1181 1317 1320

7 επεβαλον] επεβαλλον 1221 επεβαλεν 1175 επεβαλαν 1315

ιματια αυτων και . . . ιματια αυτων (vs. 8)] om αυτων 1° . . . ιματια 2° 1186*

αυτω 1°] om 1208

εκαθισεν] εκαθησεν 1216 1217 1243 1174 1175 1319 1333 1335

επ αυτω] επ αυτον 1186^{mg} 1201 1204 1222 1169 1173 1385 1320

8 τα ιματια] τους χιτωνας 1190 1197 1211 1227 1163 1176 1388 1321

εις την οδον 1°] εν τη οδω 1196 1200 1201 1204 1214 1217 1219 1220 1223 1226 1230 1233 1169 1171 1173 1385 1313 1318 1319

αλλοι δε] om δε 1318 1319 1346 om αλλοι δε . . . οδον 1320 1330

ποιειτε] ποιητε 1188 1174

στοιβαδας] στιβαδας 1186 1189 1193 1194 1200 1203 1204 1214 1216 1217 1219 1220 1223 1224 1166 1181 1385 1318 1319 1326 1331 1333 1335 1343 στυβαδας 1188 1191 1202 1213 1386 1966 1347 στειβαδας 1175 1206 1341 στηβαδας 1235

εις την οδον 2°] εν τη οδω 1197 1198 1200 1214 1217 1219 1220 1221 1223 1227 1233 1163 1171 1175* 1181 1388 1313 1318 1319 1346

9 *και οι προαγοντες*] *οι προαγοντες δε* 1214 1330 *και οι παραγοντες* 1166
και οι ακολουθουντες] om 1195 1326
ωσαννα] om 1194
ευλογημενος] *ευλογημενος ει* 1218
ευλογημενος . . . κυριου] om 1198 1233
ο ερχομενος] om *ο* 1252
10 *ευλογημενη*] *και ευλογημενη* 1193 1200 1209 1219 1220 1223 1235 1313 1318 1319 1340
ευλογημενη . . . κυριου] om 1386
η ερχομενη βασιλεια] *η βασιλεια* 1204 *η βασιλεια η ερχομενη* 1190* (corr. in mg.) *ερχομενη βασιλεια* 1250
εν ονοματι] om *εν* 1233
εν ονοματι κυριου] om 1195 1215* 1237 1901
11 *εισηλθεν*] *ηλθεν* 1236 *εισελθον* m. p. sed ipsa correxit? 1317
ο ιησους] *ο κυριος* 1252 om *και* (2°) 1207 1344 1324 om *και εις το ιερον* 1220* 1326
παντα] *παντας* 1197 1235 1176 1181 1347 *απαντα* 1202 1386 1901
ηδη] *ετι* 1208 1222 *δε* 1235 1348
της ωρας] om *της* 1242 1167
εις βηθανιαν] om 1230
βηθανιαν] *βιθανιαν* 1314 1335
μετα των δωδεκα] om 1208
των δωδεκα] *των δωδεκα μαθητων* 1194 1202 1237 1386 1901 1315 *των δωδεκα μαθητων αυτου* 1330
12 *εξελθοντων αυτων*] *εξελθοντι τω ιησου* 1174 *εξελθοντα αυτον* 1330
βηθανιας] *βηθανιαν* 1166 *βιθανιας* 1175 1233 1335 *βιθανιαν* 1314
13 *συκην*] *συκην μιαν* 1200 1219 1220 1225 1233 1313 1318 1319
μακροθεν] *απο μακροθεν* 1220
εχουσαν] *εχουσα* 1216 1227 1239 1242 1171 1331 1335
ευρησει τι] *τι ευρησει* 1223 1313 *τι εν αυτη ευρησει* 1318 *τι επ αυτην ευρησει* 1319
τι εν αυτη] *εν αυτη τι* 1216 1243 *τι επ αυτην* 1174

επ αυτην] εν αυτη 1202 1174 1901 1330

φυλλα] φυλλα μονον 1216 1243 1317 φυλλα μονα 1326

14 ο ιησους] om 1195 1200 1219 1220 1313 1318 1319 1326 1338

εις τον . . . . φαγοι] καρπος εις τον αιωνα γενηται 1331

μηδεις καρπον] καρπον μηδεις 1230

φαγοι] φαγη 1197 1199 1208 1223 1339 1230 1234 1236 1247 1250 1251 2292 2293 1173 1389 1334 φαγει 1233 1317 1318 1319 1329 1335 1338 1344 1347

ηκουον] ηκουσαν 1213 1313

15 εισελθων] ελθων 1208 1239 2294

ο ιησους] om 1218 1240 1180 1322

αγοραζοντας] τους αγοραζοντας 1198 1338 1346 1201 1207 1214 [2] 1215 1219 1220 1225 1166 1179 1313 1314 1318 1324

εν τω ιερω] εν αυτω 1389

τας περιστερας] om τας 1169

17 εδιδασκε λεγων αυτοις] εδιδασκεν αυτους λεγων 1204 1385 εδιδασκεν αυτοις (?) λεγων 1169 1173 1318

ου γεγραπται οτι] om 1388

οτι ο] om 1966

εποιησατε αυτον] αυτον εποιησατε 1222 1223 1236 1240 1248 1166 1180 1313 1315 1318 1322 1346 om αυτον 1330

18 ηκουσαν] ηκουον 1166

οι γραμματεις και οι αρχιερεις] οι αρχιερεις και οι γραμματεις 1194 1199 1200 1202 1203 1216 1223 1224 1236 1243 1247 1165 1180 1181 1901 1386 1389 1313 1317 1318 1319 1323 1346 om οι ante αρχιερεις 1164 οι γραμματεις και οι φαρισαιοι και οι αρχιερεις 1186 1201

απολεσουσι] απολεσωσι 1186 1187 1188 1190 1191 1193 1194 1196 1200 1201 1203 1204 1205 1206 1207–1211 1213–1216 1217–1226 1227 1229 1230 1232 1233 1236 1240 1242 1243 1248 2294 1163 1166 1167 1168 1171 1172 1174 1175 1180 1386 1388 1389 1966 1314 1315 1316 1317 1318 1319 1320

1321 1322 1326 1330 1331 1333 1335 1338 1341 1343 1346 1348

αυτον 2°] om 1313 1318 1319 1331

οχλος] λαος 1176

εξεπλησσετο] εξεπλησσοντο 1211 1331 1345

19 οτι] οταν 1198 1219 1233 1313 1318 1319 1346

οψε εγενετο] εγενετο οψε 1252 οψε εγινετο 1175

εξεπορευετο] εξεπορευοντο 1215 1219 1220 1318

20 εξηραμμενην] εξηραμενην 1197

21 ιδε] om 1236

εξηρανται] εξηραται 1190 1195 1196 1197 1204 1208 1211 1214 1215 1217 1227 2292 2294 1169 1176 1181 1385 1966 1315 1321 1335 1344 1345 εξηρανθη 1194 1201 1202 1223 1230 1237 1242 1164 1167 1386 1901

22 και . . . αυτοις] om 1240 ειπεν ο κυριος τοις εαυτου μαθηταις 1174

ιησους] ο ιησους 1187 1188 1190 1196 1199 1201 1203 1204 1206 1208 1214 1223 1224 1230 1242 1247 1252 2292 2293 1163 1164 1165 1166 1168 1169 1171 1173 1175 1176 1179 1385 1386 1388 1901 1966 1314 1315 1317 1319 1324 1328 1330 1338 1340 1344

λεγει] ειπε 1252 1166

εχετε πιστιν θεου] om 1188

23 γαρ] om 1186 1194 1195 1196* 1204 1225 1315* 1330

οτι 1°] om 1236

ος] οστις 2293

εις την θαλασσαν] εν τη θαλασση 1338

αν] εαν 1203 1208 1216 1217 1230 1243 1345 om 1167 1344

πιστευση] πιστευσει 1188^{corr} 1201 1202 1208 1209 1212 1216 1221 1224 1227 1230 1235 1163 1164 1171 1181 1966 1314 1317 1318 1320 1335 1338 1340 πιστευει 1330

24 παντα] οτι παντα 1242

αν] εαν 1198 1208 1219 1237 1243 1901 1313 1318 1346

αιτεισθε] αιτησθε 1191 1193 1195 1199 1201 1207 1212 1217 1218 1224 1225 1236 1237 1251 1252 2292 2293 1165 1167 1173 1174 1385 1386 1966 1313 1318 1329 1331 1339 αιτεισθαι 1187 1203 1315 1321 αιτησησθε 1214

οτι] οτι και 1252

και εσται] om και 1186 και εσται εν υμιν 1335

υμιν 2°] add λεγω δε κ.τ.λ. e Matt. 1196

25 στηκητε] στηκετε 1186 1187 1197 1203 1223 1226 1230 1163 1172 1175 1318 1319 1321 1330 1340 στηκειτε 1202 1235

αφιετε] αφετε 1187

25–26 και . . . υμων 2°] om 1252 2292

25 ει τι εχετε] ει τι αν εχητε 1314

ο εν τοις ουρανοις] ο ουρανιος 1197 1225 1344 om 1331

υμων 1°] ημων 1223 1227

αφη . . . ουρανοις (vs. 26)] om 1216

αφη] αφιει 1186 αφιη 1181 αφησει 1204 1226 1230 1966 1341 αφειη 1222

26 ει δε υμεις . . . τα παραπτωματα υμων om 1204 1172* 1341

δε] om 1330

υμων 1°] ημων 1188 1223 1227 1319 1326 om 1222

τοις ουρανοις] om τοις 1220 1313 1319 1346

αφησει] αφησει υμιν 1163 1173 1385 1348 αφηση 1247 1335 1175 αφισει 1203

τα παραπτωματα υμων] om 1169 1173 1385

υμων 2°] add λεγω δε κ.τ.λ. e. Matt. 1193 1207 1208 1212 1213 1214 1215 1225 1233 1179 1181 1966 1318 1324 1335 1343

27 και ερχονται παλιν] τω καιρω εκεινω ερχεται ο ιησους 1174 ερχεται ο ιησους 1966

ερχονται 2°] ερχεται 1197 1314 1330 και ερχονται 1216

παλιν] om 1204 1169* 1173 1385

τω ιερω] om τω 1322

οι αρχιερεις και] om 1195 1326

και οι γραμματεις] om 1248

οι πρεσβυτεροι] om οι 1197 οι πρεσβυτεροι του λαου 1248

28 *και* 1°] om 1179
εν ποια εξουσια ταυτα ποιεις] om 1188
ποιεις . . . . ταυτα] om 1203
και 2°] *η* 1169
την εξουσιαν ταυτην εδωκεν] *εδωκε την εξουσιαν ταυτην* 1215 1216 1169 1171 1173 1181 1385 1330
ταυτην] om 1314
εδωκεν] *δεδωκεν* 1194 1197 1216 1220 1225 1226 1317 1320 1333 1345 1348
και τις . . . . ποιης] om 1344
ινα ταυτα ποιης] om 1330
ταυτα 1°] *τοιαυτα* 1314
ταυτα 2°] om 1223 1233
ποιης] *ποιεις* 1196 1211 1213 1214 1216 1217 1229 1237 1239 1242 1243 1176 1315 1317 1318 1319 1326 *ποιεῖς* (sic) 1175

29 *επερωτησω*] *ερωτισω* 1188
ο δε ιησους] om *ιησους* 1216 1243 1163 1386 1319 om *ο δε ιησους* 1236
αποκριθεις] om 1165 1330
υμας καγω] *καγω υμας* 1187 1196 1215 1216 1217 1219 1224 1233 1248 1171 1386 1901 1966 1313 1318 1319 1326 1346 *υμας και εγω* 1189 1190 1191 1193 1197 1198 1199 1205 1206 1207 1212 1214 1218 1221 1222 1226 1229 1230 1234 1236 1240 1247 1250 1251 1252 2292 2293 2294 1163 1165 1167 1168 (?1174) 1175 1176 1179 1389 1317 1321 1324 1325 1329 1333–1335 1339 1343 1344 1347 *και εγω υμας* 1188 1237
ενα λογον] *λογον ενα* 1208 1330 om *ενα* 1388

30 *ιωαννου*] *ιωαννου, ποθεν ην* 1233 1330
αποκριθητε μοι] om 1189 1190 1234 1236 1247 1250 1251 2292 1176 1389 1323 1328 1334

31 *ελογιζοντο*] *διελογιζοντο* 1190 1193 1195 1198 1200 1203 1204 1207 1208 1209 1213 1214 1215 1216 1217 1219 1220 1223 1225 1243 1251 2294 1164 1169 1173 1176 1385 1313 1315 1317 1318 1319 1324 1331 1340 1345

προς εαυτους] εν εαυτοις 1204 1173 1385 om προς 1169 [probably reads εν εαυτοις]

εξ ουρανου] εξ ουρανων 1167

ουν] om 1200 1204 1215 1385 1326

32 αλλ εαν] om εαν 1187 1189 1190 1191 1193 1194 1196 1198 1199 1200 1201 1203 1205 1206 1208–1211 1216 1218–1222 1224–1226 1227 1229 1230 1233 1234 1235 1242 1243 1247 1248 1251 2292 2293 2294 1163 1165 1166 1167 1172 1174 1175 1176 1966 1313 1314 1316 1317 1319 1320 1321 1322 1323 1328–1331 1333 1334 1338–1341 1343 1344 1346 1347 om αλλ 1186 1197 1202 1223 1237 1164 1181 1386 1901 1348 αν pro εαν 1186 1164 1386 εαν δε 1315

εφοβουντο] φοβουμεθα 1195 1169 1173 1181* 1385 1315 1326 1345 εφοβουντο γαρ 1230 1240 1174 και εφοβουντο 1388

λαον] οχλον 1195 1171 1315 1326

απαντες] παντες 1169 1173

ειχον] ηχον 1188 εχουσι 1169 1345

οτι] om 1173 1330

οντως] ως 1223 1330 om οντως 1169 [?1173] 1318

προφητης ην] προφητην 1330

ην] εστι 1194 1202 1386

33 τω ιησου] αυτω 1226 1233

ο ιησους αποκριθεις λεγει αυτοις] om 1242 om ο ιησους 1200 1213 1225 1318 1319 1343 1348 αποκριθεις λεγει αυτοις ο ιησους 1243 1171 αποκριθεις ο ιησους λεγει αυτοις 1187 1195 1196 1197 1220 1227 1230 1233 1236 1239 1247 1163 1166 1167 1313 1315 1321 1334 1338 1346 om αποκριθεις 1388 αποκριθεις δε ο ιησους λεγει αυτοις 1216 om ο ιησους αποκριθεις 1190 1242

λεγει] ειπεν 1215 1217 1338

EXCURSUS II

The Date of the Georgian Gospels

Robert P. Blake

What is the date of the Georgian Scriptures? The answer we give to this question depends first on what we conclude to be the date when Christianity was first brought into Georgian territory, and secondly on the view we hold as to how the Georgian literary language originated.

The first information we have about the introduction of Christianity into Georgia is given us by Rufinus, whose trustworthiness is doubted by many scholars.[1] Rufinus tells the story of the miracles which accompanied the missionary activities of a Christian slave named Nina — in Georgian Nino(y) — who came into the hands of the heathen king of Georgia, Bakur. The conversion of the king took place in the days of Constantine. From Rufinus this story was taken over by the later ecclesiastical historians,[2] and in the tenth century a romantic version of the legend obtained wide circulation in Georgia under the title of მოქცევაჲ ქართლისაჲ (*Mok'c'evay K'art'lisay*), "The Conversion of Georgia." [3] Another tradition attributes the conversion of the country to St. Gregory the Illuminator, the apostle of Armenia, and his disciples. This would fix it at

[1] Rufinus, Hist. Eccles. i. 10 (Migne, P. L. 21, col. 480B–482C). On Rufinus in general see H. M. Gwatkin, Studies of Arianism, 2nd ed., pp. 97–102, and A. Glas, Die Kirchengeschichte des Gelasios von Kaisareia als Vorlage für die beiden letzten Bücher der Kirchengeschichte Rufinus, Leipzig, 1914 (Byzantinisches Archiv, VI). If we grant that Glas has to some extent rehabilitated Rufinus, we must none the less follow the latter's statements with due caution.

[2] Socrates, H. E. i. 20; Sozomen, H. E. ii. 7; Theodoret, H. E. i. 24.

[3] Full bibliography of the Russian and Georgian literature and monographs on this document in კეკელიძე, op. cit., I, pp. 569 ff.; Djavakhishvili's study in his ძვ . ქ · სახტ . მწერ . (ტფ · 2nd ed., 1921, pp. 85 f.) was formerly the most important discussion of the problem, but this has now been superseded by Kekelidze's study in the მიმოხილვები I, pp. 1–53 (see above, pp. 287 f.). We can afford to pass over the activities of the Apostle Andrew; see I. Džavakhov, Проповѣдническая дѣятельность Апостола Андрея и св. Нивы въ Грузіи, ЖМНП 1901, v. 333 (January), pp. 77–113.

approximately the same date as that given in Rufinus's story.[4] Thus two independent branches of tradition assign the founding of the Christian church in the country to the first half of the fourth century. No objection is to be made to this as a date for the appearance of Christian missionaries in Georgia, but there is no extraneous evidence whatever to show that at this early period Christianity became actually established in those parts.[5] Christian bishops appear in Armenia before Constantine, but the conversion of the country came later.

"The Conversion of Georgia" can be summarily dismissed as a Tendenzschrift of the Grecophile period. The Armenian tradition, in the form in which it has come down to us, is both late in date and strongly biased.[6] As we shall see, early Christian influence penetrated Georgia almost solely through Armenian channels,[7] and that part of the assertions of the Armenian tradition we can safely retain,[8] but other portions of that tradition are shown by indirect evidence to be less secure. The earliest historical document which has come down to us in Georgian, the "Passion of Queen Šušanik," by Jacob the Priest (c. 470),[9] implies the existence in Georgian at that time of acta martyrum and of the Scriptures,[10] and indicates that Christianity had made considerable progress in the country, although for political reasons a faction of the nobility had accepted Mazdaism. The substantial accuracy of this statement is not easily to be denied. Contemporary evidence from Palestine shows us the Georgians already present[11] in the monasteries of

[4] See კეკელიძე, op. cit., pp. 5 f., and especially N. Marr, Крещеніе армянъ, грузинъ, абхазовъ и алановъ святымъ Григоріемъ, ЗВО, 1905, pp. 66–148.

[5] See E. Ter-Minassiantz, Die Beziehungen zwischen den armenischen und syrischen Kirchen bis zum 12ten Jahrhundert, Leipzig, 1904 (Texte und Untersuchungen, N. F. XI), pp. 2–3.

[6] Cf. especially Marr's article (cited in note 4).

[7] See above, pp. 293 f.

[8] See Kekelidze, op. cit., I, pp. 28 ff.

[9] Critical edition by S. R. Gorgadze, ობაჲ ხუცესი მე-ვ საჯენე წამებაჲ წმიდისა შუშანიკისი, ქუთაისი, 1917 წ., with valuable notes.

[10] P. 7, ll. 4–5.

[11] In general on this topic see the book of A. A. Tsagareli, Грузины на Синаѣ и въ Св. Землѣ, СПБ. 1888 г. (Православный Палестинскій Сборникъ, Вып. 10).

St. Saba [12] and St. Theodore,[13] and expressly states that the liturgy was celebrated by them there in their own tongue. Procopius mentions a monastery of the Laz at Jerusalem.[14] All this would enable us to fix 450 A.D. as a date before which the Scriptures were translated into Georgian.

Let us now consider the palaeographical and linguistic evidence which we have in Georgian itself. It is reasonably evident that the Armenian and Georgian alphabets are derived from a common original, but exactly what this original was is not easy to ascertain. The older theory that the Armenian letters were derived from some Aramaic source, and then revised with the help of the Greek alphabet, does not hold.[15] For the Armenian script Marquart [16] has shown that its history was much more complicated, and Meillet [17] has suggested a strain of Péhlevi influence. That hybrid alphabets were in use in the Armenian area before the Christian era has been recently demonstrated by the parchments from Kurdistan published by E. Minns.[18] The cardinal weakness of the old theory, however, lies in the fact that in the vowel-signs are to be seen

[12] A. A. Dimitrievskii, Τυπικά, Kiev, 1895, I, pp. 222–223.

[13] Vita S. Theodosii, ed. H. Usener, 1890, pp. 45–46.

[14] Procopii de aedificiis v. 9, 6–7, ed. Haury, III, 2, 164, 16–17.

[15] This is the general statement in the tradition.

[16] J. Marquart, Ueber den Ursprung des armenischen Alphabets in Verbindung mit der Biographie des hl. Mašt'oc', Vienna, 1917; an Armenian translation of this work has been published, Vienna, 1920.

[17] Heinrich F. J. Junker, 'Das Awesta Alphabet und der Ursprung der armenischen und georgischen Schrift,' in Caucasica, Heft 2, 1925, pp. 1–91; Heft 3, 1926, pp. 82–139. Marquart had in general argued that the forms of the letters showed the influence of an Aramaic alphabet, but that they had been conventionalized and stylized under the influence of Greek writing and especially of the capital script. Junker, while accepting the second part of Marquart's thesis, makes out a good case for a Péhlevi origin of the characters. Much of the argument turns on the technicalities and peculiarities of the script of the Iranian idioms and must be judged by linguists; certain of the comparisons made of the Armenian and Georgian do not appear sound, but the general results of Junker's investigation seem convincing. Meillet suggested Péhlevi influence in his review of Marquart's book (Rev. ét. arm. I, fasc. 2, 1920, pp. 163–164). Much interesting material is contained in I. Djavakhishvili's ქართული პალეოგრაფია (Tiflis, 1927); but the general theses: (1) that the Georgian alphabet is very ancient and an independent development, (2) that it is not connected with the Armenian, (3) that many of the letters are derived from ligatures, hardly seem to me tenable. I hope to discuss the whole question in detail in another place.

[18] Journal of Hellenic Studies, vol. 35, 1915, pp. 22 ff.

the clearest traces of Aramaic influence. This influence is evident for both Georgian and Armenian, sometimes in the same, sometimes in different, characters.[19] Therefore we cannot say, as has often been maintained, that the languages of this district were first reduced to writing when Christianity came in, though it is by no means unlikely that the systematization of the local alphabets is connected with the appearance of the Christian faith.

Again, it is essential to realize that we have in the Old Georgian texts a literary language.[20] It is not a dialect native to one area, but it is the lingua franca of the upper class and the medium in which communications, oral and written, were carried on between various districts [21] which spoke mutually incomprehensible languages. Dialectal forms appear, as do words derived directly from other neighboring languages, or from those tongues out of which the neighboring languages later arose. Yet the vocabulary of the texts is standardized to a very considerable extent, and morphology and orthography also appear to follow fairly stable rules. The time which elapsed between the introduction of Christianity and the date of our oldest manuscript fragments is insufficient for the completion of this process.

The essential uniformity of literary Old Georgian, however, does not imply that the language as we have it is in any sense a 'pure' one. Apart from the alien accretions (non-caucasian, or perhaps better 'non-japhetic,' to use a term coined by N. Marr), which are present in Georgian as in every other language, the philological analysis of Georgian, coupled with a comparison with the other allied or related tongues of the Caucasus, shows that on the southern slopes of the range we have to deal with three well-marked branches of a primal linguistic stock.[22]

[19] See above, note 17.

[20] It is a *κοινή*, which is superimposed upon, but has not supplanted, the dialects. See in particular N. Marr, К изучению современного грузинского языка, Leningrad, 1922 г.

[21] Georgian has been until modern times the written medium of communication in Mingrelia and Abkhazia and in Swanetian territory.

[22] The fundamental working out of this conception has been one of the great contributions which Professor N. Marr and his pupils have made to the scientific study of

The South Caucasian dialects which survive as spoken tongues at the present day are in no sense pure representatives of any single one of these three branches.[23] In some cases they are hybrids, in others a basic stratum has been subjected in varying degrees to the influence of the allied branches. Comparative studies of the different modern and ancient dialects have established with reasonable certainty the essential characteristics of each of the three groups. The most striking criterion for divergence lies in the treatment of the sibilant s. In the first group we find an s, which in the second is either represented by a spirant (h, or y) or else disappears entirely (0), while the third group has sh (š). Marr has accordingly termed these three branches respectively the 'sibilant,' 'spirant,' and 'hissing' languages.[24] There can be no doubt that Georgian, fundamentally speaking, belongs to the first, or sibilant, group within these languages, but it has none the less been subjected to the influence of the other two branches at different epochs and to varying degrees.[25] To a certain extent this influence can be separated into its component parts by the help of phonetic and dialectal criteria. The older stratum antedates the formation of the ancient literary language and appears consistently in the modern dialects. The influences which operated at a later period were less pervasive and less extensive, and affected for the most part only limited regions within the Georgian area.[26]

the Caucasus. His theory has naturally varied and altered from time to time as new materials turned up and new points of view presented themselves. A guide, in brief and compendious form, to the scattered and often enigmatic literature, is provided by the recently published list, N. Marr, Классифицированный Перечень печатных работ по яфетологии, Leningrad, 1926.

[23] Abkhasian and Swanetian belong to the first category, the rest of the group to the second.

[24] Compare the table appended to the conclusion of Marr's article, Опредѣленіе языка второй категоріи ахеменидскихъ клинообразныхъ надписей по даннымъ яфетическаго языкознанія (Записки Восточнаго Отдѣленія Русскаго Арх. Общества, т. xxii, 1914, pp. 31–106).

[25] See in particular N. Marr, Грамматика древнегрузинского литературного языка, Leningrad, 1925, pp. III ff.

[26] To the first class of these influences belong for example two layers or currents which have penetrated into Georgian:

(1) A series of words which are akin either phonetically or actually to Swanetian (N. Marr, Изъ поѣздокъ въ Сванію, Хр. Востокъ II, 1 ff.; Яфетическія названія деревьевъ и растеній, ИАН 1915, pp. 769–780, 821–852, 937–950).

Such studies as have been made of the modern dialects show that the Old Georgian literary language is fundamentally one whose home was in Eastern Georgia; it is most closely akin to the present-day K'art'lian speech (in the upper valley of the Kura and the Aragwa), but was probably reduced to writing in the form employed in the ancient manuscripts in Gogarene (Γογαρηνή) or Gogark' (to-day the Borčalo district south-east of Tiflis).[27] Until the first third of the sixth century after Christ this area was the political centre of Georgia. Political troubles, the conflict between Rome and Sassanid Persia, and the ensuing Arab invasion, led to the break-up of this centre.[28] New rallying points for the oppressed Georgian population were formed in the mountainous region further west and south,[29] and the foci of literary activity tended to yield to this westerly drift.[30] Once, however, the literary language had left its original home, it was affected by new influences — a new dialect and cultural currents different from those which had hitherto been dominant.[31] At the same time it remained fundamentally what it had originally been — a dialect of Eastern Georgia, and the new surroundings only gradually altered certain of its more superficial characteristics. We by no means seek to imply that literary Old Georgian necessarily first came into being with the appearance of Christianity in the Caucasian area, as a similar

(2) A series of words related to the Lazo-Mingrelian tongues (N. Marr, Яфетическіе элементы въ языкахъ Арменіи, Извѣстія Академіи Наукъ, 1911–1914, 1916, 1918–19, passim), a stratum which strongly affected the Armenian. To the second class belong the attrition of the pronominal prefixes, the loss of the secondary vocalic element in vocalic noun-endings (-ება, -ობა for -ებაჲ, -ობაჲ), many categories of partially assimilated and erratically distributed loan-words, etc.

[27] A good summary of the arguments in favor of this is given by K. Kekelidze, ქართ. ლიტ. ისტ. v. I, pp. 37 f.

[28] Cf. ი. ა. ჯავახიშვილი, ქ. ერის ისტ., v. 1, pp. 7ff.

[29] A brilliant sketch of the later section of this development is given by N. Marr, in his Житіе св. Григорія Хандзт'ійскаго, ТР 7 (Спб. 1911), Дневникъ поѣздки въ Шавшетію и Кларджетію, pp. 1 ff. A general review of the situation in the Arab period in Djavakhishvili, II, pp. 1 f. and, for Armenia in general, J. Laurent, L'Arménie entre Byzance et Islam depuis la conquête arabe jusqu'en 886, Paris, 1919.

[30] This point has been particularly emphasized by Kekelidze, op. cit., I, pp. 41 f.

[31] Certain dialectal phenomena in the Adysh MS. perhaps reflect this change; see above, pp. 296 f.

lingua franca of the upper classes had existed before,[32] but the needs of Christianity undoubtedly affected both the vocabulary and the style. Thus the literary language of the earlier period (after the sixth century) may be defined as an inter-provincial dialect, retaining an eastern base, but removed from its original milieu and exhibiting, as time goes on, a growing infusion of western forms; this idiom was stabilized but not petrified by being reduced to written form.

Nevertheless the divergence between the literary monuments and the tongue of the people never became so marked in Georgian as in Armenia, where almost the entire body of the literature underwent two, and probably three, conscious dialectal overhaulings.[33] This process had made large progress by the middle ages: the literary language became so artificial that it had to be learned by authors in mature years as the medium of literary expression. In consequence an extensive corpus of grammatical literature arose in Armenian,[34] based upon Greek textbooks, which a similar need had brought into being. In modern times (and in part in the middle ages) this artificial, or classical, language was supplanted by the popular idiom gradually working up from below.[35] Georgian, however, was less differentiated, and hence did not become standardized or classicized[36]; accord-

[32] On this point in particular see N. Marr's brochure, К изучению современного грузинского языка, Leningrad, 1922.

[33] It is reasonably clear that the original literary dialect of Armenia must have been located in the south, as the earliest translations are those from the Syriac (Eusebius, Ephrem, etc.). Later on, after the Arab conquest, the literary centres shifted to the north and west, where the Grecophil school of teachers began its activity. With the destruction of the national kingdom in the 11th century, the centre of activity was transferred to Cilicia. All of these movements have left their trace on the manuscript tradition, but owing to the complete absence of early MSS. we cannot ascertain the true dialectal character of the early texts.

[34] Cf. N. G. Adonts, Діонисій Ѳракійскій и армянскіе толкователи, Petrograd, 1915.

[35] On this point many Armenists remain stubbornly blind. In one case the facts observed brought home later the true state of affairs, namely to J. Karst, Historische Grammatik der kilikisch-armenischen Sprache, Strassburg, 1900. The earlier chapters of this work appeared separately, but the palinode of the author is to be found on pp. 132 ff.

[36] The nearest approach to this came in with the neo-scholasticism of the 18th century, when the Kat'olikos Antoni sought to reintroduce a somewhat altered form of John Petritzi's style into Georgian literature. The old scholastic literature had been snuffed out by the invasion of the Mongols; the new shipwrecked on the popular ro-

ingly it was never unreceptive of new dialectal elements and to some extent gradually altered its form in accordance with its new dialectal surroundings. Hitherto it has been possible to trace this process in Georgian only in a general way, nor were the stages of the mutations definable, but owing to the discovery of the khanmeti palimpsest texts, referred to above,[37] new and unexpected light has fallen upon the history of the Old Georgian literary tongue, and we are now in a position to trace to some degree how its dialectal complexion was altered.

We have already mentioned these documents, but in order to explain the term here applied to them it is necessary to touch on certain phenomena of the morphology and syntax of the Georgian verb. The most striking peculiarity connected with this part of speech is that the regimen (that is, the cases in which the logical subject and the logical object of a verbal form respectively stand) varies in accordance with the tense employed. We should also point out here that the dative case in Georgian fulfils in addition the functions of the accusative and the locative.

The specific meaning of any verbal form is determined in Georgian, as in other languages, by various suffixes and prefixes attached to the stem. These are, on the one hand, the morphological elements which determine the limitation imposed on the given verbal form, or, in other words, the personal and tense endings of the verb, and, on the other hand, the elements which express the pronominal subject and object of the verbal form.[38] The formatives of the first category are for the most part suffixes, while the pronouns are largely represented by prefixes. Differences of mode (or better, 'aspect,' to use a term borrowed from the grammar of the Slavic languages) are expressed in Georgian by prefixing to the root the vowels a, i, e, which impart to the root a transitive-causative, a passive, and a reflexive sense respectively.

mantic movement. Hence no grammatical literature appeared in Georgian until the 18th century.

[37] See above, pp. 288 f.

[38] The best and clearest exposition of this (from the point of view of the modern tongue) is by A. Dirr in his Grammatik der grusinischen Sprache, Wien o. J., pp. 68 ff.; also his Einführung i. das Studium der kaukasischen Sprachen, Leipzig, 1928, pp. 61 f.

To illustrate the statements just made, two tables follow, in which are set forth: (1) the regimen of the various tenses in Georgian; (2) the pronominal and objective prefixes used both in Old Georgian and in the modern language (on page 367).[39]

Tense	*Regimen*	
	Logical Subject	Logical Object
I. Present, imperfect, optative, negative imperative	nominative	dative
II. Aorist, subjunctive-future, imperative, philosophical present	dative pronominal (*man* in singular)	nominative
III. Perfect, future-subjunctive, impersonal verb, and reflexive forms	dative (*mas* in singular)	nominative

The new documents, which are unquestionably written in literary Old Georgian from the point of view of vocabulary and syntax, diverge strikingly from the normal texts in certain morphological particulars. The most important of these is that a different group of pronominal prefixes, partly subjective, partly objective, are employed. These appear in some instances before vowels where the normal texts do not employ them.[40] The pronominal categories as reconstructed from these texts present a distinctly different appearance.

	Subjective		Objective	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1. pers.	ⴆⴓ— before o i ⴆⴟ by crasis	ⴆⴓ — ⴕ before o i ⴆⴟ by crasis	ⴃ —	ⴇⴓ (ⴟ) —, ⴃ —
2. pers.	ⴆ—	ⴆ — ⴕ	ⴂ —	ⴂ —
3. pers.	0 — [ⴆ, 0]	0 — [ⴅ, ⴆ]	ⴆ —	ⴆ — ⴅ
1. pers.	χu — before o i χü by crasis	χu — t' before o i χü by crasis	m —	gu (ü) —, m —
2. pers.	χ —	χ — t'	g —	g —
3. pers.	0 — [s, 0]	0 — [n, s]	χ —	χ — n

[39] In the tables, when the subject is in the plural in regimens II and III, the case or form is the same in both types. The philosophical present, or (in Shanidze's terminology) permansive, is a form (confined to the 3rd person) which expresses continuous or customary action. The pronominal prefix ⴂ *h* becomes ⴆ *s* before dentals or their palatalized equivalents, ⴃ ⴟ before Tzischlaute, and disappears before vowels.

[40] For example, ⴆⴁქⴓნდⴓⴆ for ⴁქⴓნდⴓⴆ; შⴓⴆⴓწⴕⴆ for შⴓⴓწⴕⴆ, etc.

Pronominal Prefixes

	Subjective				Objective		
	Singular		Plural		Singular	Plural	
	Old Georgian	New Georgian	Old Georgian	New Georgian	Old Georgian and New Georgian	Old Georgian	New Georgian
1. pers.	ვ—	ვ—	ვ—[თ]	ვ—[თ]	მ—	{ჲუ (ჳ)— / მ—	{ჲუ (ვ)—თ / მ—თ
2. pers.	0—	ჱ (ს შ 0)—	ჱ (ს შ 0)—[თ]	0—[თ]	გ—	გ—	გ—თ
3. pers.	0—[ს] [0]	0—[ს] [0]	0—[ნ] [ს]	0—[ნ] [ს]	ჰ (0)—	ჰ (0)—ნ	ჰ (0)—
1. pers.	v—	v—	v—[t']	v—[t']	m—	{gu (ü)— / m—	{gu (v)—t' / m—t'
2. pers.	h (s š 0)—	0—	h(s š 0)—[t']	0—[t']	g—	g—	g—t'
3. pers.	0—[s] [0]	0—[s] [0]	0—[n] [s]	0—[n] [s]	h (0)—	h (0)—n	h (0)—

The differences between the two systems may be summed up as follows:

(1) In the first person the subjective prefix is ხუ- χu- in place of ვ v; before following ი i it takes the form ხჳ χü by crasis.

(2) In the second person of the subjective category and the third person of the objective, prefixed ხ- χ- takes the place of ჰ h (respectively s/š/0) of the normal texts. ხ χ is retained before vowels, where ჰ h disappears in the normal texts.[41] In addition the prefix უ- u- of the comparative forms of adjectives appears in the form ხუ χu-; e.g., ხუმჯობესი χumjobeysi for უმჯობესი umjobeysi, 'best.'

The appearance of these texts led to the solution of a riddle which had long perplexed Georgian scholars. In the colophon attached to his version of the gospels George the Athonite begs copyists to keep the text of his edition pure, and not to conflate it with the საბაწმიდური და ხანმეტი *sabacmiduri* and *khanmeti* texts.[42] The sense of the first of these words was obvious; it refers to the monastery of St. Saba in Palestine, but what *khanmeti* meant no one was able to make out.[43] A. G. Shanidze now realized that the newly-discovered texts were what George referred to, and that the enigmatic name meant exactly what its component parts implied: ხან *khan*, the letter ხ χ and მეტი *meti*, 'more,' 'addition,' 'surplus.' The word signifies the text in which *khans* are added, and manuscripts of this type in George's day can have been no great rarity, to judge from his words. This showed, furthermore, that such texts were no sporadic phenomenon, but a well-recognized type.

To the significance of this discovery from the linguistic point of view we shall return below; we must now turn our attention to the chronology which Djavakhishvili has set up for his documents. He begins his argument with what is undoubt-

[41] In other words the subjective prefixes are wholly different but the objective prefixes in part the same.

[42] This colophon has frequently been printed, but the last and only critical edition is by A. Shanidze in his article, უძველესი ქართული ტექსტების ადმოჩენის გამო, Bull. Univ. Tifl., II, 1923, pp. 402–403.

[43] Shanidze enumerates a most amusing series of guesses, pp. 407–409.

edly the oldest of the three inscriptions containing khanmeti suffixes — that on the church at Bolnisi.[44] According to the "Conversion of Georgia" this church was built by a bishop Eliay (Elijah).[45] On somewhat conjectural grounds Djavakhishvili assigns this dignitary to the beginning of the fifth century.[46] He identifies the Bishop Davit', mentioned in the inscription with the Bishop Davit' of Bolnisi, whose name appears in the Armenian collection of documents known as the *Գիրք Թղթոց* Girk' T'γt'oc', "The Book of Letters," as having attended the anti-chalcedonian council at Dvin at the beginning of the sixth century.[47] The inscriptions on the Church of the Cross at Mtskhet are placed by Djavakhishvili between the years 590 and 650.[48] In the latest of these the letter ბ b *ban* has a slightly opened head, which leads him to believe that the change in its form began to take place at this period.[49] In the second place the same expression occurs in two of the Mtskhet inscriptions: მეოხ იყავ *meoχ iqav*, 'be our intercessor.' In the earlier inscription (that of the ypatozi ὕπατος [i. e. consul] Dimitre) the ხ χ appears in the word ხოყავ *χiqav*; in the second (that of Adarnase) the ხ χ is omitted იყავ *iqav*.[50] This instability in the usage leads Djavakhishvili to conclude that the ხ χ began to disappear in the first half of the seventh century, and he accordingly concludes that these palimpsests must have been written before that date and belong to the sixth century.[51]

Djavakhishvili's argument in general and his chronology in particular have been sharply criticised by Hencko (Генко).[52] He quotes, and agrees with, the present writer's original sugges-

[44] Djavakhishvili, pp. 320 f.

[45] E. Takaïshvili, Описаніе рукописей Общества распространенія грамотности среди грузинъ, II, p. 721.

[46] Pp. 321 f.

[47] *Գիրք Թղթոց: Մատենադրութիւն նախնեաց. Թիֆլիս*, 1901, p. 181, 1, 2, *Դաւիթ եպիսկոպոս Բողնիս*.

[48] Djavakhishvili, pp. 324 f.

[49] Djavakhishvili, plates viii–ix.

[50] Ibid., plates viii–ix and pp. 365 f.

[51] N. A. Hencko, По поводу работы проф. И. А. Джавахишвили, касающейся грузинских палимпсестов с библейскими текстами, Тексты и Разысканія по кавказской филологии, Том I, Leningrad, 1925, pp. 35–49.

[52] Hencko, pp. 35–36.

tion (contained in a letter to Professor Marr) that the date of the palimpsests should be fixed at about 750 A.D.[53] After castigating Professor Djavakhishvili for a number of careless or misleading statements and for twisting the sense of certain passages, Hencko points out the statement of Abraham (Abraam), the writer of the letter in the Girk' T'γt'oc' (whence Djavakhishvili derived the statement about Davit' of Bolnisi) that the list of bishops present at the council was not drawn from the original acts of the council, since these had been destroyed.[54] It was a retranslation from a 'Roman' (that is, Greek) list, which had been obtained from Edessa, and, says Hencko, is consequently worthless.[55] Hencko furthermore attacks the palaeographical part of Djavakhishvili's argument, which he considers to be entirely a priori, and to fail to distinguish between palaeographical and epigraphical evidence; further Hencko points out that the Sinai Codex 64 (864 A.D.),[56] of which he prints a photograph, shows in a number of cases the closed form of the letter *ban* and "almost" the same forms of *gar* and *vie*.[57] He shows further that Djavakhishvili fails to take into account the fact that in general in the palaeographical history of a script we become acquainted only with the main palaeographical centres and with the hands developed in them; we rarely know or can identify provincial, regional hands.[58] Hencko likewise remarks that all our old dated Georgian MSS. are demonstrably either of Tao-Klardjet'ian or of Palestinian origin, and suggests that the home of the khanmeti texts was in Georgia proper or K'art'li.[59] They can have been no rarity in the days of George the Athonite, and in one instance at least (Eccl. Mus. no. 799) a codex survived more or less intact until the 14th century, that being the date assigned to the second, or upper, writing.[60]

What measure of truth is contained in these contradictory views? We cannot be certain that Bishop Davit' of Bolnisi and the Davit' mentioned in the inscription are one and the

[53] Ibid., pp. 38–41.
[54] Hencko, pp. 44 f.
[55] Ibid., p. 45.
[56] Ibid., pp. 45–47.
[57] Ibid., facing p. 48.
[58] Ibid., pp. 46–47.
[59] Ibid., p. 48.
[60] Ibid., p. 47.

same person, but certain of Hencko's other strictures lack cogency. The accuracy of the episcopal list is not necessarily to be impugned, for Abraam insists upon two points: (*a*) the list obtained from Urha (Edessa) was an official translation; (*b*) not *all* of the names of persons or places could be recognized with certainty in their Greek guise.[61] The name of Davit' and that of his see, however, are perfectly clear.[62] The identification is, indeed, not certain, but it seems to be possible. Djavakhishvili's dating of the Mtskhet' inscriptions appears to me sound. As far as the palaeographical side of the argument is concerned, we must remember that the differences in ductus which inevitably exist between palaeographical and epigraphical documents of the same epoch are much less marked in the case of capital letters, which are drawn and not written. On the other hand, there can be no doubt that the palaeographical arguments derived from the forms of the letters are seriously damaged by Hencko's statements and by observations on Caucasian MSS. subsequently made by Č'ikobava.[63]

Before proceeding to set forth my own view, I will sum up the points which the two scholars mentioned seem to me to have definitely determined. It is certain that the prefixes ხ χ ხუ χu were used in K'art'li during the years 590–650, but it may well be that the literary tradition began to waver after that period. The closed forms of the letters *ban*, *qar*, and *vie* are also found in those inscriptions, but the palaeographical tradition did not die out at this time, and is still observable in the oldest extant manuscripts.

In addition the following points can be urged. A careful

[61] Ibid., p. 47.

[62] *Գիրք Թղթոց*, p. 183, ll. 15–22:
Եւ զի պայման նամակին՝ որ հայերէն դրով էր, յապստամբութեանն կորեաւ, եւ թարգմանեցաւ այս յՈւրհայ քաղաքի ի հռոմ դրոյ· քանզի եւ նոքա ունէին ի մէնջ· եւ սուրբ, որպէս արժան էր, չկարացին թարգմանել, զի են որ քաջ յայտնի են եպիսկոպոսացդ՝ եւ եպիսկոպոսանցն անուանք, եւ են որ կարի 'ի ծածուկ եւ այլաձեւք:

[63] In ჩვენი მეცნიერება III, No. 3–4 (known to me only from Kekelidze's review რეცენზიები ibid., No. 9). Č'ikobava showed that the closed b was a rather frequent phenomenon in the older MSS.; see also კ' კეკელიძე, ხანმეტი და ჰაემეტი ტექსტები, მიმომხილველი I, 1926, pp. 262–267.

study of the hand of the Sinai MS. (in the original)[64] and of the Bodleian fragment (from the excellent photograph in the writer's possession) leaves no doubt in my mind that the Bodleian MS. is the older of the two. In the first place the letters of the Bodleian MS. are of the epigraphic type. They are square; the vertical and horizontal axes of letters with bellies or bodies tend to be of equal length: but the characters in the Sinai MS. are rectangular, the vertical axes being longer than the horizontal. Secondly, in the Bodleian fragment the letters are widely spaced, while the letters in the Sinai MS. are written close together. Thirdly, in the Bodleian fragment the heads of the three letters under discussion are really closed, the top of the curve being joined to the top of the hasta by a hair-line, but this is not the case in the Sinai MS., where the curve frequently approaches close to the hasta,[65] but there is never any hair-line connecting them.

All these considerations lead me to date the Bodleian fragment considerably earlier than the Sinai MS., a century earlier in any case, and more probably (as I now think) about 700 A.D. Whether it should be put further back than this I cannot say, as the materials for comparison are lacking. In the second place Shanidze[66] has pointed out that in the Adysh Gospels we have traces of a third divergent system of pronominal prefixes in which the characteristic consonant is ⴑ *h*; to this we shall return below.[67] This observation shows beyond question that the Adysh MS. is a copy of an old MS. which has been revised in accordance with the later established orthography; and this receives additional confirmation when we compare the text of the Adysh MS. with that of the khanmeti fragments.[68] An unquestioned kinship exists between the two both in readings

[64] This was inspected by me during a visit there in April, 1927. A large number of the disputed letters were examined by all members of the party and by the σκευοφύλαξ, Father Ioakim.

[65] In about 30 per cent of the cases of the letter b and in about 15 per cent of the other letters.

[66] ა. გ. შანიძე, Bulletin de l'Université de Tiflis, II, pp. 417 f.

[67] See below, p. 375.

[68] A careful comparison of the text in Mark and Matthew with the Adysh MS. was undertaken by B. H. Streeter and R. P. Blake. For the most part the fragments come from the parables, and are textually not very interesting.

and in vocabulary. We must accordingly infer that both the Adysh codex and the khanmeti fragments belong to a class of manuscripts not touched by the revisers who have left their traces in the Opiza and T'bet' Gospels. In other words we are dealing with a stratum of textual tradition which antedates the Grecophil movement, while the dialectal peculiarities in the case of the khanmeti texts point towards Eastern Georgia or K'art'li.

Over the interpretation of the khanmeti dialectal peculiarities another acrimonious controversy has arisen. Some years ago Marr presented the theory that since a number of words found in Old Georgian texts bear evident morphological and philological relationship to Swanet'ian forms, we must infer that at an earlier period Swanet'ian tribes, now confined to the mountain-locked valley of the Ingur, must have inhabited the slopes of the Anticaucasus, and in particular have dwelt in the mountainous district of Meskhia. Only in this way can the presence of such Swanet'ian forms in the literary language be explained.[69]

This theory has been sharply attacked by Djavakhishvili, but his arguments in rebuttal are for the most part not very weighty.[70] The forms ъχ χv and ъ χ for the pronominal prefixes of the subjective category in the first and second persons actually occur in Swanet'ian,[71] and as Marr had surmised that the original translation of the Scriptures might have been into Swanet'ian,[72] the discovery of these texts led me to assume that we had here, if not a Swanet'ian text, at least one which employed Swanet'ian forms to a far greater extent than any which had previously been discovered.[73] Of this view I am no longer sure. My doubts are based on the fact that a large num-

[69] See above, note 26.

[70] Djavakhishvili, pp. 346 f.

[71] Baron P. von Uslar's sketch of Swanetian grammar in his Абхазская Грамматика, Tiflis, 1887 г, is unfortunately not accessible here, and the sketch by თავისუფალი შვანი [B. Nižaradze] in ძველი საქართველო, II, pt. II, p. 84–98, has been used.

[72] N. Marr, Эчміадзинскій фрагментъ, p. 388.

[73] In a letter from R. P. Blake to N. Marr, quoted by Hencko, p. 36, and Djavakhishvili, pp. 361–362.

ber of texts have come to light among the palimpsests in the Caucasus in which the pronominal prefixes are employed as in the khanmeti texts, but in which in place of ხ χ we find ჰ h. Shanidze, who has been making a special study of these texts, has termed them, by analogy with the expression khanmeti, ჰაემეტი *haëmeti* (from ჰაე *haë*, the name of the letter ჰ h).[74] Traces of a text of this type have been observed by Shanidze, as we mentioned above, in the Adysh Gospels.[75] Djavakhishvili[76] explains the problem as to how the ხ χ disappeared by assuming a progressive degeneration or attrition of the pronominal prefixes. He points out that *omnium consensu* the earliest Georgian literary monuments were characterized by prefixes of the *khan* type, for the roots $\sqrt{ar}$ and $\sqrt{slv}$, *esse* and *ire*, still use, even in the modern dialects, the ხ in the second person of the present tense, where we have the forms ხარ, ხართ χar, χart', 'thou art,' 'you are,' and ხვალ, ხვალთ χval, χvalt', 'thou goest,' 'you go,' and he accordingly assumes that the prefixes in other verbal forms degenerated, while these remained. I must confess that this hypothesis seems to me highly doubtful. There is in any case a survival, but it is much easier to suppose that a different type of prefix came into use in the other forms, and not that the forms themselves wore down, a process which does not occur in Georgian.[77] I am convinced of the superior probability of Shanidze's explanation, that the areas in which literary work was carried on gradually shifted.[78] The data afforded by the dialectal distribution of the prefixes in modern Georgian tend to confirm this: the prefixes of the ხუ- ხ- χu- χ- type are East Georgian.[79] Now it is reasonably certain that our early Christian texts, or in any case the earliest of which we have any definite trace, were composed in the

[74] See above, note 66.

[75] See above, note 66.

[76] Pp. 361 f.

[77] See Gerhard Deeters, 'Armenisches und Süd-kaukasisches', in Caucasica, Heft 3, Leipzig, 1926, pp. 37–82; Heft 4, 1927, pp. 1–64.

[78] Bull. Univ. Tifl. II, 1923, pp. 410–411.

[79] აკაკი შანიძე, სუბიექტური პრეფიქსი მეოთხე პირისა და ობიექტური პრეფიქსი მესამე პირისა ქართულ ხმნებში, ტფილისი, 1920, pp. 145 ff.

province of Gogarene (Γογαρηνή) or Gogark' (now the Borčalo district).[80] Later on the centre of literary activity seems to have shifted southward and westward into Meskhia, which may well have been the home of the 'haëmeti' texts.[81] Unfortunately this area has become de-georgianized, and our knowledge of the older dialect of the district is practically nil. What evidence we have does not run counter to this theory, and I would also hazard the conjecture that the instability in the Adysh MS. of what are usually stable and basic ჳ v's may possibly be due to Meskhian influence.[82]

The importance of these dialectal documents is considerable in another respect: they show that we look at Georgian texts almost wholly through Tao-Klardjet'ian glasses.[83] We can infer that the process of stylistic revision was gradual,[84] and to some extent preceded the reconstitution of the text. The Adysh Gospels escaped the second half of the process, and it is noteworthy that from the textual point of view they are closely connected with the khanmeti fragments. The actual date of these latter documents is perhaps more important palaeographically than it is for textual purposes, for the fact that the manuscripts are written with the khanmeti peculiarities shows that they are descendants of the ancient version, whatever their date may be. I see therefore no reason for doubting that the Adysh MS. and the khanmeti fragments substantially represent the type of New Testament text current in Georgia about 600 A.D. and probably earlier, though I doubt if any of the fragments themselves are as old as this date.

[80] See above, note 27.

[81] So Shanidze, Bulletin Univ. Tifl. II, 411.

[82] Some evidence is afforded by the language of the Georgian epic Vep'khis Tqaosani by Šota Rust'aveli, but the uncertainties of the textual tradition make any deductions highly dubious. Cf. J. O. Wardrop in the Introduction to his sister's translation, The Man in the Panther's Skin, London, 1912, pp. viii–ix, and N. Marr, Грузинская поэма «Витязь въ барсовой шкурѣ» Шоты изъ Рустава и новая культурно-историческая проблема. I. Племенная среда. II. Культурная среда и эпоха. ИАН 1917, pp. 415–446, 475–506; see above, p. 297.

[83] A point insisted upon by Hencko; see above, note 51.

[84] A good instance of how expressions came to be replaced is found in the colophon of Cod. Jerus. 36, discussed by N. Marr, Антіохъ Стратигъ, Плѣненіе Іерусалима персами въ 614 г. TP ix (Спб. 1909), p. 69.

EXCURSUS III

The Harclean Version of the Gospels [1]

Silva New

Since the facts of the Armenian and Georgian versions of the gospels seem to show that there once was a Syriac text of Caesarean type, the apparatus of the Harclean version suggested itself as possibly preserving traces of such a text. This has led to a study of the marginal notes and the gospel text of that version, and to certain conclusions as to the problems of the Harclean text itself.

There is no adequate edition of the Harclean gospels with their complicated apparatus criticus. White's edition (1778) is drawn from two manuscripts (Oxford, New College 333 and 334), and the editor added, in notes at the end of the volume, some information about other manuscripts. In 1789 Adler [2] published a discussion of the three Syriac versions which he knew, and added to the already known material the evidence of two manuscripts in the Vatican and of one in Paris. Since that time more manuscripts have been found, but no critical edition has combined all the evidence. As Adler's notes suggest, White's two manuscripts were in fact not so complete as to make another edition superfluous, and when in 1927 an opportunity presented itself to examine superficially all but four of the manuscripts hitherto catalogued, considerable variation showed itself among them in both text and apparatus. Judged by the completeness and distinctiveness of their apparatus or by the quality of their continuous gospel text, the following Harclean MSS. appear to deserve chief attention:

[1] [The bearing of this Excursus on the views presented in the treatment of the Philoxenian and Harclean versions in J. H. Ropes, The Text of Acts (The Beginnings of Christianity, vol. III), 1926, and especially in respect to certain assumptions therein made without adequate discussion, will not be overlooked by the student of these subjects. J. H. R.]

[2] J. G. C. Adler, Novi Testamenti versiones Syriacae, Simplex, Philoxeniana et Hierosolymitana, Copenhagen, 1789.

Mark i. 1–14 from the Harclean Gospel Codex, Vatican. Syr. 267

Bibliotheca Angelica, Syr. 3
Vatican, Syr. 267 (see plate, opposite)
Vatican, Syr. 268
Bibliothèque Nationale, Syr. 53
Bibliothèque Nationale, Syr. 55
British Museum, Rich. 7163
British Museum, Add. 17124
Cambridge University Library, Add. 1700
Oxford, New College 333
Oxford, New College 334

As Adler's published list of variants had already indicated, many marginal readings found in other manuscripts are not included in the apparatus of either of the New College manuscripts. Some idea of how much might be gained from a complete edition of the Syriac apparatus which could be assembled from all the MSS., can be had from the accompanying table (pp. 378–381) covering the relatively few Greek marginal notes in four manuscripts of the Harclean for the Gospel of Mark.

This table shows the incompleteness of the Greek marginal apparatus in these manuscripts; a similar amount of variation appeared in many of the other manuscripts examined. No one MS. is markedly superior to the others, and the evidence does not suggest that any one is derived directly from any other or even that any two have a near common ancestor. A cursory examination of the Syriac notes, including those which name the source of Old Testament quotations, gives the same result. In addition to White's edition, we have available a collation of the marginal apparatus of five MSS. and photographs of two others.

The text also is not completely the same in the manuscripts examined. Aside from the transposition of variants as between text and margin, which occurs occasionally in all the manuscripts, there seems to be a real division of the text into two types represented by two groups of MSS. Just what is the textual difference between them can be ascertained only by full collations, but it probably corresponds, at least partly, to the difference in the form of the colophon usually found at the end of the Gospel of John. The shorter form of the colophon is

Greek Marginal Notes in Harclean MSS. of Mark

Mk.		*White*	*Codex Angelicus*	*Vat. Syr. 267*	*Vat. Syr. 268*
i.	5	—	κωρα	—	—
		και οι ιεροσολυμιται	και ο εροσολυμιται	κοιεροσολυμιτα	και οι ιεροσολυμιτ
	6	ακριδας	ακριδες	ακριδες	καριδας
	7	ιμαντα	—	—	ιμαντα
	10	ως	—	—	—
		περιστεραν	—	—	—
	25	—	φιμωθητι	φιμωθητι	φιμωθητι
	28	—	ποραχωρα	περιχωρα	—
	34	—	ποικειαις	ποικειλαις	ποικειλαις
	38	κωμοπολεις	κωμοπολεις	κωμοπολεις	κωμοπολεις
ii.	26	προθεσεως	πρωθεσεως	προθεσος	προθεσεως
iii.	6	ιροδιανων	ηροδιανων	ηρωδιανων	ηρωδιανων
	17	βοανεργες	—	βοανιργες	βονηργες
	21	οι παρ αυτου	οι παρ αυτυ	οι παρ αυτοι	—
iv.	17	ειτα	—	—	ειτα
	28	αυτοματη	αυτωματη	αυτοματι	αυτοματη
		ειτα	ειτα	ειτα	ειτα
	34	—	κατιδιαν	κατιδιαν	κατιδιαν
	37	λαιλαψ	λαιλαφ	λαιλαψ	λαιλαψ
	39	πεφιμωσο	πεφιμσωσο	πεφιμωσο	πεφιμωσο
	40	γαληνη	γαληνον	γαληνν	γαληνη
v.	9	—	λεγεων	λεγεωιν	λεγεων
	11	—	χωρα	χωρα	—

Mk.	*White*	*Codex Angelicus*	*Vat. Syr. 267*	*Vat. Syr. 268*
v. 23	εσχατως	εσχατοσω	εσχατως	εσχατως
41	ταλιθα κουμι	ταλιθα κουμι	ταλιθα κουμι	ταλιθα κουμι
vi. 8	πιραν	πηραν	πηραν	—
11	χουν	χουν	χουν	χυον
17	ιρωδιαδα	—	—	—
18	ενειχεν	ανεχεν	ενειχεν	ενειχεν
21	γενεσιοις	γενησιοις	γενεσιος	γενεσιος
26	σπεκουλατορα	σπεκουλατορα	σκεκυλατορα	σπεκουλατορα
29	εδοκεν	—	—	—
—	—	πτωμα	πτομα	πτωμα
39	συποσια	συμποσια	—	συμποσια
49	παντασμα	φαντασμα	φαντασμα	φαντασμα
52	πεπωρωμενη	πεπωρωμενη	πεπρωμενη	πεπωρωμενν
55	—	πηραχωρα	—	—
vii. 3	πυγμη	πυγμη	πυγμη	πυγμη
11	κορβαν	κορβαν	κυορβαν	κορβαν
—	δορα	—	—	—
24	λαθειν	λαθειν	—	λαθιν
26	—	κηρωτα	κηρωτα	και ηρωτα
29	πεδιων	πεδιων	—	πεδιων
31	μογιαλον	μογιλαλον	ηογιλον	—
34	εφφαθα	εφφαφα	εφφαθα	εφφαθα
viii. 10	δαλμανουθα	δαλμανου	δαλμανουθα	δαλμανουθα
15	βλεπετε	βλεπετε	βλαπετε	βλεπετε
25	—	ειτα	ειτα	ειτα

Mk.	*White*	*Codex Angelicus*	*Vat. Syr. 267*	*Vat. Syr. 268*
viii. 32	—	ιξγαρρησια	και παρρησια	και παρρησια
ix. 50	αλας	—	—	—
	αναλον	αναλον	—	αναλον
x. 9	συνεζευξεν	συνεζευξεν	συνεζευξεν	συνεζευξεν
23	χρηματα	—	χρηματα	χρηματα
33	συμβαινειν	συμβαινειν	συμβαινειν	συμβαινειν
46	ικανου	ικανου	—	—
	υιος	—	—	—
	βαρτιμαιος	βαρτιμαιος	τημεος	βαρτμαιος
xi. 1	—	—	παγη	—
8	σοιβαδας	στυβαδας	στοιβαδας	στοιβαδας
9	ακολοθουντες	ακολουεφουντες	ακολοθουντες	ακολουθουντες
	ωσαννα	—	ωσσαννα	ωσσαννα
16	σκευι	—	σκευι	σκευι
22	—	—	εχετε	—
xii. 3	κενον	κενον	κενον	κενον
14	κηνσον	κηνσον	κηνσον	κηνσον
32	—	—	—	πλην
42	λεπτα	λεπτα	λεπτε	λεπτα
	δυο	—	—	—
44	βιον	βιον	βιον	βιον
xiii. 14	της ερημωσεως	της ερημωσεως	ερημωσεως	της ερημωσεως
25	φεγγος	θεγγος	φεγγος	φεγγος
34	και τω θωρωρω ενετειλατο	—	—	—

Mk.		*White*	*Codex Angelicus*	*Vat. Syr. 267*	*Vat. Syr. 268*
xiv.	3	—	—	—	ηγανακτισαν
		αλαβαστρον	αλαβαστρον	αλαβαστον	αλαβαστρον
	5	—	εις τη	εις τι	εστι
	13	κεραμιον	κεραμησα	και ιραμησον	—
	14	ανωγαιον	—	—	—
	32	γεθσιμανη	γεσσημαν	γεσσιμαν	γεσημαν
	36	αββα ο πατηρ	αββα ο βατ	αββα ο πατηρ	αββα ο πατηρ
	43	και ξυλων	και ξυλων	—	και ξυλων
	45	ραββη	—	—	—
	56	—	ουκ·ι·σαι	και ισαι	και ισαι
	59	ιση	—	ισι	ιση
	62	μετα	—	μετα	μετα
xv.	1	συμβουλιον	—	—	—
	16	—	πειραν	σπειραν	σπιραν
	21	αγγαρευσουσιν	αγγαρευουσιν	αγγαρευσιν	αγγαρυουσιν
	29	ουα	ουα	ουα	ουα
	34	ελωη ελωη	ελωι ελωι σαβακθανι	ελωη ελωη λιμα σαβ-βακθανη	ελωι ελωι σαβακθανη
	39	κεντυριωνα	κεντυριωνα	κεντυριωνα	κεντυριωνα

found in the New College and Vatican manuscripts, and was published by White. The longer, published by Adler, has an extra sentence, and is found in the Paris MS., Syr. 55, as well as in Angelica, Syr. 3; Cambridge, Add. 1700; and others. It is noteworthy that the Angelica and Cambridge MSS. have few or no traces of Syriac marginal notes, but this is not the case in one of the Paris manuscripts belonging to this group. It is not probable, therefore, that the loss of the margin corresponds to the variation in text; but little real light can be thrown on these questions until complete collations have been made.

From the available material, however, some points can be provisionally discussed, and we shall here consider (1) the interpretation of the colophon, (2) the nature of the manuscripts which Thomas of Harkel had before him, and (3) the relation of these to the text which he provided. The starting point must necessarily be the colophon.

(1) *The Colophon to the Gospels and its Interpretation*

What Thomas did seems to be this. A translator, whose name is not given but who according to the almost contemporary Moses of Aghel (perhaps ca. 550) was the chorepiscopus Polycarp, prepared for Philoxenus of Mabug a Syriac translation in the year 508. Then, in 616, 'Thomas' at the Enaton of Alexandria collated this version with Greek manuscripts. That this 'Thomas' was Thomas bishop of Harkel is nowhere stated in the colophon of the version, but the usual assumption that it was he is probably correct. The difficult and important question which arises is this: Did Thomas make a new translation, or did he merely copy out the text of Polycarp, adding variants known to him from Greek and Syriac?

The colophon runs as follows, the Latin version being based on White, with some corrections, partly drawn from Adler:

ܗܕܐ ܗܘ ܣܦܪܐ ܕܐܪܒܥܐ ܐܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܐܬܬܪܓܡ ܡܢ ܝܘܢܝܐ ܠܣܘܪܝܝܐ ܒܬܫܪܝܬܐ ܣܓܝܐܐ ܘܒܥܡܠܐ ܪܒܐ ܩܕܡ ܟܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܒܡܒܘܓ ܫܢܬ ܫܒ ܠܡܐܬ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܩܕܢܝܐ ܒܝܘܡܝ ܡܪ ܦܝܠܘܟܣܝܢܘܣ ܩܪܝܒܐ ܘܣܦܝܩܘܦܐ ܕܗܘ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ.

This book is the four holy evangelists, which was translated from Greek into Syriac with much diligence and great labour first in the city Mabug in the year 819 of Alexander of Macedon, in the days of our father Philoxenus, the confessor and bishop of that city.

ܐܬܩܪܝ ܗܘ ܣܦܪܐ ܗܕܐ ܒܙܒܢ ܣܓܝ ܡܢ ܬܘܡܐ ܡܟܝܟܐ ܒܫܘܬܦ ܣܦܪ̈ܐ ܝܘ̈ܢܝ̈ܐ ܫܦܝ̈ܪ̈ܐ ܘܡܬܩܢ̈ܐ ܒܝ̈ܬ ܡܢ̈ܣܛܝܪܝܘܢ ܩܕܝܫ ܒܫ̈ܡ ܐܢܛܘܢܝܘܣ ܒܐܬܪ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬ ܠܝ ܠܡܥܒܕ ܠܛܘܒ ܠܢܦܫܝ ܘܠܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܡܬܐ ܠܗ ܠܡܫܡܥ ܣܦܪ̈ܐ ܩܕܝ̈ܫ̈ܐ.

Collatus est autem postea cum diligentia multa a me Thoma humili cum tribus exemplaribus Graecis valde probatis accuratisque in Enaton Alexandriae urbis magnae, in monasterio sancto Antoniano, quippe vel exaratio eius facit ad utilitatem animae meae aegrotae et omnium eorum qui cupiunt accurationem librorum sacrorum.

ܐܬܟܬܒ ܗܘ ܐܦ ܒܙܒܢ ܣܓܝ ܡܢ ܐܢܐ ܬܘܡܐ ܡܟܝܟܐ ܒܫܢܬ ܬܫܥ ܡ̈ܐܐ ܘܥܣܪܝܢ ܘܫܒܥ ܠܡܐܬ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܝܘ̈ܡ̈ܝ ܡܪ ܦܝܠܘܟܣܝܢܘܣ ܩܪܝܒܐ ܘܣܦܝܩܘܦܐ ܕܗܘ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܡܢ ܕܝܠܗ ܐܦ ܥܒܕ ܘܥܡܠ ܣܓܝ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܒܗ ܘܒܟܠ ܚܒܪ̈ܝ ܘܒ̈ܢ̈ܝ ܡܪܝܐ ܒܠܚܘܕܘ ܕܗܘ ܢܬܠ ܠܟܠ ܚܕ ܐܝܟ ܕܥܒܕ ܒܦܘܠܚܢܗ ܒܫܪܪ ܒܕܝܢܗ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܪܚܡ ܥܠ ܝܕܝܗ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܠܢ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܪܚܡܢܘ ܕܢܗܘ ܠܢ ܐܡܝܢ.

Item descriptus est autem et collatus loco praedicto anno 927 ipsius Alexandri indictione quarta [A.D. 616]. Quanta autem opera et cura fuerit mihi in illo et sociis eius Dominus solus novit qui retribuet unicuique secundum opera sua in iudicio suo iusto et recto, in quo digni fiamus misericordiae ab eo. Amen.

Apart from minor variation and corruption, three important questions arise concerning the text of the colophon. (1) In the second paragraph there is variation between the readings

'duobus' and 'tribus exemplaribus.' The evidence of the marginal notes shows that 'tribus' is right. (2) In the second paragraph the last clause (beginning 'quippe vel exaratio') is omitted in White's manuscripts and in the two great Vatican codices. But it does not sound like an interpolation. Is the omission possibly an error of the eye in passing from ܡܢ̈ܐ ... ܘܐܟ̈ܐ to ܘܚܕ̈ܐ ... ܡܢ̈ܐ? It should be noted that in this sentence, not found in White, Adler translated ܣܦ̈ܐ by 'apex,' which gives no sense; but, as Professor Vaschalde informs me, it probably means 'exaratio,' the actual mechanical writing out of the codex. (3) In the last paragraph Adler translates ܐܦ by 'nimirum altera vice,' and White by 'deinde'; but both seem too strong, for ܐܦ is surely not much more than 'item,' and ܘ̈ܡ is no more equivalent to 'altera vice' than the Greek δέ would be.

Whatever text of this colophon be accepted, the meaning remains the same. A version or translation was made (ܐܬܥܒܕ) in A.D. 508 for Philoxenus. A copy of it was made by Thomas, and was collated by him (ܐܬܩܒܠ, ἀντεβλήθη) with three (or two) Greek manuscripts. The date of this second writing out and collating (ܐܬܚܕ ... ܐܬܩܒܠ) is given as A.D. 616. Inasmuch as the existing manuscripts contain a Syriac translation provided with a collation from at least three Greek and probably two Syriac codices, it would be reasonable to suppose that we have here the translation which the colophon assigns to the days of Philoxenus together with the fruits of the collation which it ascribes to Thomas.[3]

But soon after scholars began to study the Harclean version it was assumed, under the influence of statements made by late Syriac authorities, that the colophon meant more than this, and that Thomas had not only copied and collated, but had also revised, the version made in the time of Philoxenus. This view has become traditional and it has passed into the body of widely accepted critical beliefs that the Philoxenian version has been lost and that we possess only the revision of it by

[3] This view is accepted by A. C. Clark, 'The Michigan Fragment of the Acts,' in Journal of Theological Studies, October 1927, p. 19.

Thomas. The custom, initiated by White and Adler, in pursuance of Thomas's own language, of calling the version 'Philoxenian' has been abandoned, and it is generally known as 'Harclean.'

Of recent years the distinction between Philoxenian and Harclean seemed to be confirmed by the work of the late Professor John Gwynn, of Trinity College, Dublin, whose view must be carefully stated.[4]

The earliest canon of the church of Edessa was probably the Diatessaron and the Pauline epistles. By the time of Rabbula (†435) this was no longer the case, and his revision (the Peshitto) contained the four gospels, the Pauline epistles, Acts, and the three major Catholic epistles. No early copies of the Peshitto include the four minor Catholic epistles or the Apocalypse, and the editio princeps of the Peshitto, published by Widmanstadt in 1555 from a manuscript brought from the East by the Syrian priest Moses of Mardin, contains only the books of this canon. Some late manuscripts of the Peshitto, however, do include the four minor Catholic epistles, and from these manuscripts the text of these epistles has been edited in all the later printed editions of the Peshitto.

In the Harclean version the manuscripts which contain Acts and the Catholic epistles include also the four minor epistles, and the relation between this Harclean text of the minor epistles and the text found in certain late Peshitto manuscripts is the problem which attracted Gwynn. He accepted as a datum the belief that Thomas of Harkel revised, and did not merely copy, the translation made in the time of Philoxenus. "Thomas of Harkel," he says,[5] "who, in his colophon appended to the several divisions of his work, is himself the primary authority for all we know of his version of the New Testament, expressly and with exact detail of time and place describes it as being — not a fresh translation, but rather — a revision of a previous translation, modified by comparison with one or more Greek

[4] John Gwynn, articles 'Polycarpus Chorepiscopus' and 'Thomas Harklensis' in the Dictionary of Christian Biography, vol. IV, 1887; Remnants of the Later Syriac Versions of the Bible, 1909; The Apocalypse of St. John, in a Syriac Version hitherto Unknown, 1897.

[5] Gwynn, Remnants of the Later Syriac Versions, pp. xxiii ff.

texts." Therefore the situation, as Gwynn saw it, was as follows. Two versions of the minor Catholic epistles are extant, and the colophons of the Harclean version show that the minor Catholic epistles were included in the version made for Philoxenus. Since Gwynn was convinced that the translation in the Harclean manuscripts was the version of Thomas, it was obviously a natural hypothesis that the version bound up with the Peshitto was the Philoxenian. This view was confirmed by his observation that there is a close relationship between these two versions, and that in some cases the Harclean appears to be a revision, made in the interest of a literal rendering, of the more idiomatic Syriac of the other version.

Gwynn's investigations have undoubtedly proved that the version of the minor Catholic epistles in the Harclean manuscripts is based on that found in the later Peshitto manuscripts. His view, however, that the latter is the version made for Philoxenus is an hypothesis resting on the assumption that Thomas of Harkel made a revision, and that to him, and not to his predecessor, is due the peculiar Syriac style of the Harclean text. Doubtless, if this were so, the fact that the Harclean manuscripts contain a version of the minor Catholic epistles which is a revision of that found in the later Peshitto manuscripts would be almost mathematical proof that the version in the later Peshitto is the Philoxenian; but did Thomas of Harkel *revise* the Philoxenian version or did he merely *copy* it? Surely, the simplest interpretation of the colophon to the gospels is that Thomas copied the translation made in the time of Philoxenus and collated it with other authorities. The result of his collation is then to be found in the notes in the margin of the Harclean; the result of his copying is the text of the Harclean.

It is, indeed, possible that under some circumstances the phraseology of the colophon might be interpreted otherwise. ἀντεγράφη καὶ ἀντεβλήθη — the familiar Greek phrase — means 'was copied' from such and such an original, and then, after copying, 'was compared' with it again in order to see that the copy was correct. Any errors made in the process of 'copying' and found when it was 'compared' were corrected, and this correction constituted the usual διόρθωσις of a manuscript.

Such a result is chronicled by the colophon in the Codex Theodorae (cod. 565), where, if Belsheim's collation can here be trusted, we read, Ἐγράφη καὶ ἀντεβλήθη ὁμοίως ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολόμων (sic) παλαιῶν ἀντιγράφον (sic). A similar, but not identical, case is that of a manuscript 'copied' from one exemplar and 'compared' with another. Thus the Codex Sinaiticus was copied from some manuscript of which we are told nothing, and many years later was collated, at least for parts of the Old Testament, with the 'codex Pamphili' or a copy of it, and the result was a series of marginal notes and actual corrections. But here the corrector, known as $\aleph^c$, was trying to change the text for the benefit of future scribes. In the Harclean version the situation is parallel to neither of those just mentioned; the scribe definitely says that he copied a Syriac text which he commends, and that he collated it with other manuscripts, especially Greek ones. Since the marginal notes mention variants for which they expressly refer to both Greek and Syriac copies, it would seem probable that they are, at least in large part, the product of the collation spoken of in the colophon. It is possible that the passages in the text included between asterisks and obeli may be revisions; but they may be passages in which the researches represented by the variants in the margin had made Thomas doubtful as to the right reading; usually they mark a non-ecclesiastical reading. This question cannot be fully treated until we have a critical edition of the Harclean, for at present it is clear that in some places the text and the margin have exchanged places, while in others asterisks or notes have been misplaced or have dropped out.

One further argument has to be considered. Gwynn draws attention to the fact that though we have no tradition that Polycarp translated any part of the Bible except the New Testament (and the Psalms?), there is a reference in the Syro-hexaplaric version of the Old Testament to a "version that was translated by the care of the holy Philoxenus."[6] Using this as a clue, Ceriani took as Philoxenian certain fragments translated into Syriac from the LXX of Isaiah and found in Brit. Mus.

[6] Gwynn, Remnants, p. xxxi; Field, Hexapla, II, p. 448. The note in the Syro-hexaplar codex at Milan stands at Is. lx. 6.

Add. 17106. Accepting this view, Gwynn argues that there is a similarity in style between these fragments and the minor epistles as found in later manuscripts of the Peshitto. The correctness of his judgment is one which only Syriac experts can discuss; but it is clear that the identification of the British Museum fragments with the translation made in the time of Philoxenus is somewhat problematical.

Therefore, with all respect for Gwynn's profound learning and penetrating scholarship, I submit that the most natural interpretation of the colophon does not support the theory that the Harclean text is essentially different from the Philoxenian, and that no evidence has hitherto been presented which forbids taking the colophon in its natural sense.

Thus far the discussion has been confined to the Harclean version of the gospels. The question of the Harclean Acts and epistles is different, and a single point must be added to the argument which has been urged with reference to the gospels. The notes in Acts differ from those in the gospels in one important respect; all of them are 'Western' in textual character (or, in the few cases in which they are not, the 'Western' reading is to be found in the text), whereas in the gospels they represent several types of text. A common interpretation of this has been that the text of Philoxenus in Acts was 'Western,' and that Thomas revised it to the Ecclesiastical standard, putting in the margin the 'Western' readings which he rejected from Philoxenus. If, however, the text of Philoxenus and that of Thomas are deemed substantially identical, another explanation must be found, for Thomas would hardly have adopted one method in the gospels and another in Acts. Again a colophon, in this case that appended to the Acts and Catholic epistles, furnishes our primary information:

Descriptus est (ܐܬܟܬܒ) autem ex exemplari accurato eorum qui versi sunt (ܐܬܦܫܩ) diebus (memoriae piae) Sancti Philoxeni confessoris, episcopi Mabug. Collatus est (ܐܬܩܒܠ) diligentia multa mea Thomae pauperis ad exemplar Graecum in Enaton (ܒܐܝܢܛܘܢ) Alexandriae, urbis magnae, in monasterio Antonianorum, sicut reliqui omnes libri, socii eius.

From this colophon it is clear that if we apply the same theory to Thomas's work on Acts that has already been applied in the case of the gospels, there is no difficulty. In the gospels Thomas says that he was using three Greek manuscripts; in Acts he says that he was using one. Therefore, in the gospels the margin, coming from three manuscripts of differing types, naturally has a mixed textual character; in Acts, being the result of a collation with one manuscript only, it has a homogeneous character.[7]

It is true that in some cases the readings of the minor epistles found in the later Peshitto manuscripts appear in the margin of the Harclean. But this is not always the case, and, in default of a complete investigation, the marginal readings in Acts and in the Catholic epistles seem quite as likely to represent the variants which Thomas found in his Greek manuscripts as in the case of the gospels.

(2) *The Marginal Notes*

At least three theories have been offered to explain the origin of the marginal notes in the Harclean version:

(1) That they were derived from those Greek manuscripts (doubtless from the library of the Enaton) which the colophon says that Thomas used.

(2) That they are 'Old Syriac,' at least in Acts. This was Zahn's belief. It gains support from the two facts that through the commentary of Ephrem we know of the existence of an Old Syriac version of 'Western' type and that the Harclean margin in Acts is 'Western.'

[7] A third colophon, appended to the Harclean text of the Pauline epistles, was published (without translation) from the Mohl MS. at Cambridge, England, by R. L. Bensly, The Harclean Version of the Epistle to the Hebrews, Chap. xi. 28–xiii. 25, Cambridge, 1889. This Pauline colophon is longer than the others and deserves full critical investigation in conjunction with the other colophons and with those found in the Syro-hexaplaric Old Testament. It contains a statement (apparently about the codex from which the version made for Philoxenus was translated) which seems to have been drawn from the 'Euthalian' material (see J. H. Ropes, The Text of Acts, p. clii note 2). In the Pauline colophon it is a cause of suspicion that the writer refers to Thomas not as "me, miserable Thomas," but in the third person as "Thomas bishop of Mabog." The statement (J. H. Ropes, The Text of Acts, p. clxxvi note 1) with regard to varying use of *ethpacham* ('collatus est') in the Pauline colophon is subject to reëxamination.

(3) That they are readings of the Philoxenian text which Thomas rejected in revising that translation.

No one of these theories accounts for all the facts. The matter is more complicated. Luckily Thomas has given a few indications in the notes. He mentions, though unfortunately not very often, that a reading is or is not in one or more of three Greek manuscripts; why then should it be doubted that these three mentioned in the notes are identical with those referred to in the colophon?

Thomas also mentions an "old Syriac manuscript" and a manuscript "of Mar Xenaia [i.e., Philoxenus]." Probably these two are not the same, although the note on Mk. xi. 10 cited below seems to imply that the manuscript of Mar Xenaia was in Syriac. Can we identify the "old Syriac manuscript" from the few notes which mention it?

(1) On Matt. xxviii. 5:

> In tribus exemplaribus Graecis et uno Syriaco, antiquo illo, non inventum est nomen 'Nazarenum'.

So far as is known, the insertion of 'Nazarenum' is a singular reading of the Harclean. From the evidence of this note, the 'antiquum' might be either the Peshitto or the version found in the Curetonian and Sinaitic Syriac.

(2) On Matt. xxvii. 35, and Mark viii. 17:

> (Matt. xxvii. 35). Haec periocha prophetae non inventa est in duobus exemplaribus Graecis, neque in illo antiquo Syriaco.
>
> (Mk. viii. 17). 'In cordibus vestris pusilli fide' non inventum est in duobus exemplaribus Graecis, neque in antiquo Syriaco.

In both these notes the bearing of 'antiquum' is again ambiguous, since the phrases stated to be absent from the "old Syriac" are found in neither the Peshitto nor the Evangelion da-Mepharreshe; but here the implication is that the reading was found only in the third Greek manuscript.

(3) On Luke xx. 34:

> In exemplari antiquo est 'gignunt et gignuntur' sed in Graeco non est.

This sentence is found in the Evangelion da-Mepharreshe but not in the Peshitto. The Peshitto, therefore, is presumably not what Thomas refers to as "antiquum Syriacum."

(4) Finally, there is a note at Matt. xx. 28, not found in White's edition but quoted by Adler from the two manuscripts in the Vatican which he knew as 'Assemani I and II' (Vat. Syr. 267 and 268). Adler says that at the end of this verse they add:

> Vos autem quaeritis, de pusillo crescere, et de maiore minoris esse. Introeuntes autem et rogati coenare, ne discubueritis in eminentibus locis, ne forte dignior te superveniat, et accedens coenae invitator dicat tibi, adhuc deorsum accede, et confundaris. Si autem discubueris in minimum locum, et superveniat minor te, dicet tibi invitator coenae, collige adhuc superius, et erit tibi hoc utile. Haec quidem in exemplis antiquis in Luca tantum leguntur (κεφαλαίῳ) LIII. Inveniuntur autem in exemplis graecis hoc loco, qua propter hic etiam a nobis adjecta sunt.

This reading is not found in this place in the Sinaitic Syriac or in the Peshitto, but is in the Curetonian. So far, therefore, as we can identify the 'antiquum,' it was similar to that which is extant in the Sinaitic Syriac.

(5) Finally, there is one reference by name to Philoxenus. On Mark xi. 10:

> 'Pax in caelo et gloria in excelsis' non in omnibus exemplaribus Graecis invenitur, neque in illo Mar Xenaiae.

It is generally assumed that this refers to the version made for Philoxenus: but it might with more probability mean a manuscript which had belonged to him, for the colophons never refer to 'the version of Mar Xenaia,' but to 'the version made in the time of Mar Philoxenus.' What version that manuscript represented we cannot tell from this single reference, but the Evangelion da-Mepharreshe reads 'pax in excelsis,' a variant cognate to that in the Harclean margin; and the Peshitto omits the phrase. Thus the codex of Mar Xenaia was probably not a copy of the Evangelion da-Mepharreshe, and may have been a copy of the Peshitto.

(3) *The Greek Manuscripts used by Thomas*

There seems to be no reason for not understanding the three Greek manuscripts mentioned in the colophon to the gospels to be the same as the three mentioned in various notes to the gospels.

What type of text did these manuscripts have? The only way to answer this question is to consider the notes in which the readings of Greek manuscripts are specifically mentioned.

(1) On Matt. xxv. 1:

'Sponsa' non in omnibus exemplaribus invenitur, et nominatim in Alexandrino.

This reading (καὶ τῆς νύμφης) is found in Greek manuscripts of the Caesarean group and in D etc. In Syriac it is found in the Evangelion da-Mepharreshe and the Peshitto. It is barely possible from the wording of the note that this reading was known to Thomas only in Syriac, but the natural sense is that he knew it in at least one Greek manuscript. He certainly had at least one Greek manuscript which omitted the reading. Such a manuscript might have been either Neutral, Alexandrian, or Ecclesiastical, that is any form of non-western and non-caesarean text. The Greek manuscript which contained it, if Thomas had one, was of the Caesarean type or else of that of Codex Bezae.

(2) On Matt. xxvii. 35:

Haec periocha prophetae non inventa est in duobus exemplaribus Graecis, neque in illo antiquo Syriaco.

The quotation from the Psalms is found in Greek only in Caesarean manuscripts and in Δ. It is present also in some Old Latin texts. Thomas had three Greek manuscripts, and says that two of them did not contain this reading. Again these two might have been of any character other than Caesarean.

(3) On Matt. xxviii. 5:

In tribus exemplaribus Graecis et uno Syriaco, illo antiquo, non inventum est nomen 'Nazarenum.'

This note gives us no information whatever on the point in question. Thomas found the reading in no one of his Greek manuscripts, and it is found to-day in no Greek manuscript, but is known only through the Harclean version. Its ultimate origin seems to be the usual text of Mk. xvi. 6.

(4) On Mark viii. 17:

'In cordibus vestris pusilli fide,' non inventum est in duobus exemplaribus Graecis, neque in illo antiquo Syriaco.

This reading is extant in Greek only in manuscripts of the Caesarean family, and again Thomas says that two of his three Greek manuscripts did not have it.

(5) On Mark x. 47 or 48:

> In duobus exemplis Graecis 'filius qui filius est Davidis' inventum est.

The translation of this difficult variant is Adler's. His comment on the rendering 'filius, qui filius est Davidis' is: "nominativum his verbis indicare vult criticus." He continues: "hic est in duobus exemplis nominativus legitur *ὁ υἱὸς Δαβίδ*. In tertio igitur suo exemplo legisse videtur Thomas vocativum *υἱέ*." In agreement with his two Assemani manuscripts Adler attaches this note to the phrase 'Jesu fili Davidis' in the text of verse 47. White, on the other hand, edits it with the point of reference attached to the phrase 'fili Davidis' in verse 48, and also renders the cited phrase, 'fili filii Davidis,' which, as Adler says, makes no sense. (White's 'tribus' for 'duobus' is an error.)

So far as Greek evidence is concerned, the question of reading is complicated in each verse. In verse 47 *υἱέ* is read by ℵBCLΔ, *υἱός* (*ὁ υἱός*) by DKΑΠ fam^{13} Orig. In verse 48, *υἱέ* is the reading of ℵBCLΔ, *υἱός* (*ὁ υἱός*) that of DF 28 fam^{1} fam^{13} Orig.

If, therefore, Adler's interpretation is correct, and if the attachment to verse 47 (with the Vatican manuscripts) is to be accepted, the note means that Thomas had one Greek manuscript of the Neutral or Alexandrian type and two of Caesarean or Ecclesiastical. If White's manuscript is right in fixing the note as belonging to verse 48, Thomas had one Neutral or Alexandrian manuscript and two either Caesarean or Western. A further collation of Harclean manuscripts would probably settle the point.

(6) On Mark xi. 10:

> 'Pax in caelo et gloria in excelsis' non in omnibus exemplaribus Graecis invenitur neque in illo Mar Xenaiae; in nonnullis autem accuratis, ut putamus, invenimus illud. [Adler cites this in abbreviated form, ending with 'invenitur.']

This is still another reading which in Greek is extant only in Caesarean manuscripts. Note that here, as in (1), Thomas

states that he did not find it in "all" his Greek manuscripts. Apparently he found it in at least one.

(7) On Mark xii. 14:

'Dic nobis igitur' non invenimus in Graeco [Adler: 'Graecis'].

In Greek this reading is found only in DCMN. Therefore this note merely suggests that Thomas had no manuscript of the type of Codex Bezae in the gospels.

(8) On Luke xx. 34:

In exemplari antiquo est 'gignunt et gignuntur' sed in Graeco non est.

In Greek this is only extant in D and in Clement and Origen (so also in the Old Latin).

Besides the eight notes discussed above, seven others, all from the Gospel of Luke, will be found reprinted in J. H. Ropes, The Text of Acts, pp. clxiii–iv. In these Thomas states that the reading in question is not found in 'all' his manuscripts, but he does not distinguish between Greek and Syriac. It is therefore sufficient to observe that the character of the readings in these notes does not contradict the results already reached. In each the reading which Thomas did not find in 'all' — but by implication in 'some' — of his manuscripts is a Neutral or Caesarean reading. One further note (on Matt. ii. 17) points out that a reading different from that of the Harclean text is found in Thomas's Greek manuscripts; this is an Ecclesiastical reading.

Summarizing the evidence of these readings, it appears probable: (*a*) that Thomas had one Greek manuscript with a predominantly Caesarean text; (*b*) that neither of the other two Greek manuscripts which he had was of the type of Codex Bezae. They may have been both Neutral, or both Alexandrian, or one may have been of each type. The absence of Greek 'Western' readings in the margin of the Harclean in the gospels is as noticeable as is their presence in the margin of Acts. (*c*) He had an "old Syriac" copy akin to the Sinaitic Syriac; and (*d*) possibly he had a copy of the Peshitto which had belonged to Philoxenus.

It has not been possible to investigate completely the textual

character of each marginal note in the gospels; but a rapid survey indicates that the character of the readings is thoroughly in conformity with the evidence of the longer notes quoted in detail, that is to say there are Neutral, Alexandrian, and Caesarean variants, and it is certain that Thomas was influenced by texts of these types. The most striking point in studying the character of the short notes (which merely give variants, with no added comment) is that there are practically no Ecclesiastical readings in the margin; in the few cases where such do occur, a reading of a non-ecclesiastical type is to be found in the text. In these latter cases the suspicion arises of an exchange of text and note, such as has been described above as actually observable in Harclean manuscripts. The 'Western' variants, which are also found, all seem explicable as due either to a Caesarean source or to the 'antiquum Syriacum.'

EXCURSUS IV

The Reconstructed Caesarean Text of Mark, chapters I, VI, and XI

The following text, as we have reconstructed it, is not supposed to be identical with that of any manuscript which could at any period have been found in Caesarea; but we believe it to be closer to the general text in use in that city in the time of Origen and Eusebius than is any single extant witness. In constructing it account has been taken of all the manuscripts of this group which were used in the making of the Tables on pages 213 ff., of the quotations in the two Caesarean fathers, the fragments of the Palestinian Syriac, and the Berlin parchment fragment. No one of these has been habitually followed against the others of the group, and there are even a few cases in which a reading not found in the Textus Receptus is supported by Origen where nevertheless the reconstruction follows a third reading because of the support of other members of the family. The weight to be given in such cases to the evidence of Origen or Eusebius against the majority of Caesarean manuscripts is one of the points which need further study.

The apparatus here printed does not give the evidence on which we have based our decisions; that must be sought in the Tables, the quotations from Origen and Eusebius in the section on Patristic Evidence, and the collations in the pages dealing with the Syriac versions. The aim of our apparatus is different. (1) It includes variants which seem to deserve consideration as possibly Caesarean. (2) In a few cases the Textus Receptus, (Stephanus, 1550) contains a reading which is clearly not that of the Ecclesiastical Text, and in some of these the reading of the Textus Receptus is probably the Caesarean reading. When such Caesarean readings occur (supported by the Textus Receptus), we have given the Ecclesiastical reading in the apparatus, with indication of the members of the family which support it.

Mark 1

1, 2 Αρχη του ευαγγελιου Ιησου Χριστου (καθως γεγραπται εν Ησαια
τω προφητη· Ιδου αποστελλω τον αγγελον μου προ προσωπου
3 σου, ος κατασκευασει την οδον σου· φωνη βοωντος εν τη ερημω,
ετοιμασατε την οδον κυριου, ευθειας ποιειτε τας τριβους αυτου)
4 εγενετο Ιωαννης εν τη ερημω βαπτιζων και κηρυσσων βαπτισμα
5 μετανοιας εις αφεσιν αμαρτιων. και εξεπορευετο προς αυτον πασα
η Ιουδαια χωρα και οι Ιεροσολυμιται παντες, και εβαπτιζοντο εις
6 τον Ιορδανην υπ αυτου, εξομολογουμενοι τας αμαρτιας αυτων. και
ην ο Ιωαννης ενδεδυμενος τριχας καμηλου και ζωνην δερματινην
7 περι την οσφυν αυτου, και εσθιων ακριδας και μελι αγριον. και
εκηρυσσε λεγων οτι Ερχεται ο ισχυροτερος μου οπισω μου, ου ουκ
8 ειμι ικανος λυσαι τον ιμαντα των υποδηματων αυτου· εγω υμας
9 βαπτιζω εν υδατι, αυτος υμας βαπτισει εν πνευματι αγιω. και
εγενετο εν εκειναις ταις ημεραις, ηλθεν ο Ιησους απο Ναζαρετ της
10 Γαλιλαιας, και εβαπτισθη εις τον Ιορδανην υπο Ιωαννου. και
ευθεως αναβαινων εκ του υδατος ειδε σχιζομενους τους ουρανους και
11 το πνευμα του θεου ως περιστεραν καταβαινον εις αυτον· και φωνη
εκ των ουρανων ηκουσθη· Συ ει ο υιος μου ο αγαπητος, εν σοι ευδο-
12, 13 κησα. και ευθυς το πνευμα εκβαλλει αυτον εις την ερημον. και ην
εκει επι ημερας τεσσαρακοντα και τεσσαρακοντα νυκτας πειραζο-
μενος υπο του Σατανα, και ην μετα των θηριων, και οι αγγελοι
14 διηκονουν αυτω. μετα δε το παραδοθηναι τον Ιωαννην ηλθεν ο
15 Ιησους εις την Γαλιλαιαν κηρυσσων το ευαγγελιον του θεου, και
λεγων· Πεπληρωται ο καιρος και ηγγικεν η βασιλεια του θεου·
16 μετανοειτε και πιστευετε εν τω ευαγγελιω. και παραγων ο Ιησους
παρα την θαλασσαν της Γαλιλαιας ειδε τον Σιμωνα και Ανδρεαν

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2 *εν τω ησαια* 565 · *αποστελω* Θ 3 vox clamoris Grg$^{1.2}$
4 om *βαπτιζων* Grg^{2} 5 om *η* Θ pagi Iudaeae Grg^{2} om *παντες* Θ 69
παντες και] *και παντες* fam^{13} 565 Grg^{2} *εν τω ιορδανη υπ αυτου* Θ 700
ab eo in Iordane flumine Grg$^{1.2}$ 6 *ην δε ο ιωαννης* Θ fam^{1} 69 700 *ο δε*
ιωαννης ην 28 7 *ερχεται*] ecce venit Grg^{2} 8 *υμας εβαπτισα* fam^{1}
baptizo vos Grg$^{1.2}$ om *υμας* (2°) Grg^{2B} 9 *ναζαρεθ* Θ fam^{1} fam^{13}
εν τω ιορδανη fam^{13} 28 10 caelos apertos Grg$^{1.2}$ descendentem
tamquam columbam Grg$^{1.2}$ 12 *ευθεως* Θ fam^{1} 700 13 *εκει*] *εν τη*
ερημω Θ fam^{13} quadraginta dies Grg$^{1.2}$ *σατανα*] *διαβολου* Θ Grg$^{1.2}$
14 *μετα δε*] *και μετα* Grg^{2} om *τον* Θ om *ο* Θ 700
16 *και παραγων*] *παραγων δε* 28 565 700 *του σιμωνος* fam^{1} fam^{13}

τον αδελφον Σιμωνος αμφιβαλλοντας τα δικτυα εις την θαλασσαν,
17 ησαν γαρ αλιεις· | και ειπεν αυτοις ο Ιησους· Δευτε οπισω μου, και
18 ποιησω υμας αλιεις ανθρωπων. και ευθυς αφεντες τα δικτυα ηκο-
19 λουθησαν αυτω. και προβας ολιγον ειδεν Ιακωβον τον του Ζεβεδαιου
και Ιωαννην τον αδελφον αυτου, και αυτους εν τω πλοιω καταρ-
20 τιζοντας τα δικτυα. και εκαλεσεν αυτους, και ευθεως αφεντες τον
πατερα αυτων Ζεβεδαιον εν τω πλοιω μετα των μισθωτων απηλθον
21 οπισω αυτου. και εισπορευεται εις Καφαρναουμ, και ευθυς τοις
22 σαββασιν εδιδασκεν εις την συναγωγην. και εξεπλησσοντο επι
τη διδαχη αυτου· ην γαρ διδασκων αυτους ως εξουσιαν εχων, ουχ
23 ως οι γραμματεις αυτων. και ευθυς ην εν τη συναγωγη αυτων
24 ανθρωπος εν πνευματι ακαθαρτω, και ανεκραξε | λεγων· Τι ημιν
και σοι, Ιησου Ναζαρηνε; ηλθες απολεσαι ημας; οιδαμεν σε τις
25 ει, ο αγιος του θεου. και επετιμησεν αυτω ο Ιησους λεγων· Φιμω-
26 θητι και εξελθε απο του ανθρωπου το πνευμα το ακαθαρτον. και
σπαραξαν αυτον το πνευμα το ακαθαρτον και κραξαν φωνη μεγαλη
27 εξηλθεν απ αυτου. και εθαμβηθησαν παντες, ωστε συζητειν προς
εαυτους λεγοντας· Τι εστι τουτο, διδαχη καινη αυτη; κατ εξου-
σιαν τοις πνευμασι τοις ακαθαρτοις επιτασσει, και υπακουουσιν
28 αυτω. και εξηλθε η ακοη αυτου εις ολην την περιχωρον της Γαλι-
29 λαιας. και ευθυς εκ της συναγωγης εξελθων ηλθεν εις την οικιαν
30 Σιμωνος και Ανδρεου, μετα Ιακωβου και Ιωαννου. η δε πενθερα
του Σιμωνος κατεκειτο πυρεσσουσα· και ευθυς λεγουσιν αυτω περι
31 αυτης. και προσελθων ηγειρεν αυτην κρατησας της χειρος αυτης·
32 και αφηκεν αυτην ο πυρετος, και διηκονει αυτοις. οψιας δε γενο-
μενης, οτε εδυσεν ο ηλιος, εφερον παντες προς αυτον παντας τους
33 κακως εχοντας και τους δαιμονιζομενους. και η πολις ολη συνηγ-

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αμφιβαλλοντας τα δικτυα] αμφιβληστρα βαλλοντας fam^{1} αμφιβληστρον βαλλοντας 700 20 ευθεως εκαλεσεν αυτους και ευθυς αφεντες fam^{13} Grg^{1} ευθυς εκαλεσεν αυτους και αφεντες 28 απηλθον οπισω αυτου] secuti sunt eum Grg^{2} ηλθον pro απηλθον Θ Grg^{1} 21 om ευθυς Grg^{2} εις την συναγωγην εδιδασκεν αυτους Θ 700 in synagogas eorum et docebat eos Grg^{2} 24 sine nos Grg$^{1.2B}$ 25 om και (1°) Grg^{2} απο του ανθρωπου] απ αυτου 565 700 Grg$^{1.2}$ 27 λεγοντες Θ διδαχη καινη αυτη] καινη διδαχη 700 τις διδαχη καινη 28 τις η διδαχη αυτη fam^{13} 28 αυτου] + ευθυς πανταχου fam^{13} 29 om ευθυς Grg$^{1.2}$ εξελθων εκ της συναγωγης ηλθεν Θ e synagoga exiit et venerunt Grg^{2B} et exiens e synagoga venerunt Grg^{2A} exierunt abhinc e synagoga et venerunt Grg^{1} 30 om ευθυς Grg^{2} 31 και] + ευθυς Grg^{2B} πυρετος] + et surrexit Grg^{2} αυτοις] αυτω Grg^{2} 32 οτε εδυσεν] και εδυ Grg^{2} 33 η πολις ολη συνηγμενη ην] η πολις ολη την συνηγμενη fam^{13} η πολις ολη την συνηγμενη ην 565 omnis illa civitas congregata erat Grg$^{1.2}$ ην ολη η πολις επισυνηγμενη Θ

34 μενη ην προς τας θυρας· και εθεραπευσε πολλους κακως εχοντας
ποικιλαις νοσοις, και δαιμονια πολλα εξεβαλε, και ουκ ηφιε αυτα
35 λαλειν, οτι ηδεισαν αυτον Χριστον ειναι. και πρωι εννυχα λιαν
36 αναστας εξηλθε εις ερημον τοπον, κακει προσηυχετο. και κατε-
37 διωξεν αυτον ο τε Σιμων και οι μετ αυτου, και ευροντες αυτον
38 λεγουσιν αυτω οτι Παντες σε ζητουσι. και λεγει αυτοις· Αγωμεν
εις τας εχομενας κωμοπολεις, ινα κακει κηρυξω· εις τουτο γαρ
39 εληλυθα. και ηλθεν κηρυσσων εις τας συναγωγας αυτων εις ολην
40 την Γαλιλαιαν και τα δαιμονια εκβαλλων. και ερχεται προς αυτον
λεπρος παρακαλων αυτον και γονυπετων και λεγων· Κυριε, εαν
41 θελης, δυνασαι με καθαρισαι. ο δε Ιησους σπλαγχνισθεις εκτεινας
42 την χειρα ηψατο αυτου, λεγων· Θελω, καθαρισθητι. και ευθυς
43 απηλθεν η λεπρα απ αυτου, και εκαθαρισθη. και εμβριμησαμενος
44 αυτω ευθεως εξεβαλεν αυτον, | ειπων αυτω· Ορα μηδενι ειπης·
αλλ υπαγε, σεαυτον δειξον τω ιερει και προσενεγκε περι του
45 καθαρισμου σου ο προσεταξε Μωσης, εις μαρτυριον αυτοις. ο δε
εξελθων ηρξατο κηρυσσειν πολλα και διαφημιζειν τον λογον,
ωστε μηκετι δυνασθαι αυτον εις πολιν φανερως εισελθειν· αλλ εξω
επ ερημοις τοποις ην, και ηρχοντο προς αυτον παντοθεν.

Mark vi

1 Και εξηλθεν εκειθεν και ερχεται εις την πατριδα αυτου· και ακο-
2 λουθουσιν αυτω οι μαθηται αυτου. και γενομενου σαββατου ηρξατο
διδασκειν εν ταις συναγωγαις· και οι πολλοι ακουσαντες εξεπλησ-
σοντο επι τη διδαχη αυτου, λεγοντες· Ποθεν τουτω ταυτα; και
τις η σοφια η δοθεισα αυτω, ινα δυναμεις τοιαυται δια των χειρων
3 αυτου γινωνται; ουχ ουτος εστιν ο του τεκτονος, υιος Μαριας, ο
αδελφος Ιακωβου και Ιωσητος και Ιουδα και Σιμωνος; και ουκ εισιν

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34 *τον χριστον* fam^{13} 700 35 *εξηλθε*] egressus est et venit Grg^{1} et egressus est illinc et abiit Grg^{2} 37 *σε ζητουσι*] quaerimus te Grg^{2B} 38 *και λεγει*] om *και* 700 et dixit Grg^{1} Iesus autem dixit Grg^{2} *αγωμεν*] venite et eamus circum Grg^{1} abeamus et eamus Grg^{2} *εληλυθα*] *εξηλθον* Θ in synagoga Grg$^{1.2}$ 40 *θελησης* 565 *θελης κυριε* 28 41 *χειρα*] + *αυτου* Grg^{2B} 42 *εκαθαρισθη*] + a lepra illa Grg^{2B} 43 om *ευθεως* Grg^{2B} 44 *ειπων*] *και ειπεν* 28 et ostende temet ipsum Grg$^{1.2}$ *ιερει*] *αρχιερει* fam^{13}

1 om *εκειθεν και ερχεται* W 2 in synagoga docere eos Grg^{2} *ινα*] *και* fam^{1} fam^{13} 565 W Grg$^{1.2}$ 3 *ο του τεκτονος υιος μαριας*] *ο του τεκτονος ο υιος και της μαριας* fam^{13} *ο τεκτων ο υιος της μαριας* Θ W *ο τεκτων ο υιος μαριαμ* 28 *ο του τεκτονος υιος και μαριας* 700 Grg^{2} *μαριας*] + *και* Grg^{1} *ιωσητος*] Josebi Grg^{2}

αι αδελφαι αυτου ωδε προς ημας; και εσκανδαλιζοντο εν αυτω. |
4 και ελεγεν ο Ιησους· Ουκ εστι προφητης ατιμος, ει μη εν τη πατ-
ριδι τη εαυτου και εν τοις συγγενευσι αυτου και εν τη οικια αυτου.
5 και ουκ ηδυνατο εκει ουδεμιαν ποιησαι δυναμιν, ει μη ολιγοις αρ-
6 ρωστοις επιθεις τας χειρας εθεραπευσεν. και εθαυμασεν δια την
απιστιαν αυτων. και περιηγεν ο Ιησους τας κυκλω κωμας διδασκων.
7 και προσκαλεσαμενος τους δωδεκα απεστειλεν αυτους ανα δυο,
8 δους αυτοις εξουσιαν πνευματων ακαθαρτων. και παρηγγειλεν
αυτοις ινα μηδεν αρωσιν εις οδον, μητε ραβδον, μητε πηραν, μητε
9 αρτον, μητε εις την ζωνην χαλκον, | μηδε υποδεδεμενους σανδαλια·
10 και μη ενδυσησθε δυο χιτωνας. και ελεγεν αυτοις· Οπου αν εισελ-
11 θητε εις οικιαν, εκει μενετε εως αν εκειθεν εξελθητε. και ος αν τοπος
μη δεξηται υμας μηδε ακουση τους λογους υμων, εκπορευομενοι
εκειθεν εκτιναξατε τον χουν των ποδων υμων εις μαρτυριον αυτοις.
12, 13 και εξελθοντες εκηρυσσον ινα μετανοωσιν, και δαιμονια πολλα
εξεβαλον, και ηλειφον ελαιω πολλους αρρωστους και εθεραπευον
14 αυτους. και ηκουσεν Ηρωδης ο βασιλευς, φανερον γαρ εγενετο το
ονομα αυτου, και ελεγον οτι Ιωαννης ο βαπτιστης εγηγερται εκ
15 νεκρων, και δια τουτο αι δυναμεις ενεργουσιν εν αυτω. αλλοι δε
ελεγον οτι Ηλιας εστιν· αλλοι δε οτι Προφητης, ως εις των
16 προφητων. ακουσας δε Ηρωδης ελεγεν, Ον εγω απεκεφαλισα
17 ουτος εστιν, Ιωαννης· αυτος εκ νεκρων ηγερθη. αυτος γαρ Ηρωδης
αποστειλας εκρατησε τον Ιωαννην και εδησεν αυτον και εβαλεν εις
φυλακην δια Ηρωδιαδα την γυναικα Φιλιππου του αδελφου αυτου,
18 οτι εγαμησεν αυτην. ελεγε γαρ Ιωαννης τω Ηρωδη· Ουκ εξεστι
19 σοι την γυναικα εχειν του αδελφου σου. η δε Ηρωδιας ενειχεν
20 αυτω και ηθελεν αποκτειναι αυτον· και ουκ ηδυνατο· | ο γαρ
Ηρωδης εφοβειτο τον Ιωαννην, ειδως αυτον ανδρα δικαιον και
αγιον, και συνετηρει αυτον, και ακουσας αυτου πολλα ηπορει,
21 και ηδεως αυτου ηκουε. γενομενης δε ημερας ευκαιρου, οτε Ηρωδης
τοις γενεσιοις αυτου δειπνον εποιησεν τοις μεγιστασιν και τοις

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4 om τη (2°) fam^{13} om και εν τη οικια αυτου Grg$^{1.2B}$ 5 om εδυνατο Grg^{2} ποιησαι ουδεμιαν fam^{1} om ουδεμιαν Θ Grg^{2} εκει ουδεμιαν] ουκετι W quicquid potestatis facere Grg^{1} 7 δους] και εδωκεν W 9 μηδε] et Grg^{2} μητε Θ 11 αν] εαν 700 om αν τοπος Θ 14 βασιλευς] + την ακοην ιησου fam^{13} ηγερθη εκ νεκρων Θ 15 om ελεγον οτι ηλιας εστιν αλλοι δε Grg^{2B} 16 om ουτος εστιν 28 W Grg$^{1.2}$ ιωαννην 28 W Grg$^{1.2}$ ιωαννης αυτος] ουτος 28 W Grg$^{1.2}$ om εκ νεκρων W Grg$^{1.2}$ 17 την φυλακην 565 18 om την W την γυναικα εχειν του αδελφου σου] fratris uxorem habens Grg$^{1.2}$ 20 ακουων 28

22 χιλιαρχοις και τοις πρωτοις της Γαλιλαιας, εισελθουσης δε της
θυγατρος της Ηρωδιαδος και ορχησαμενης και αρεσασης τω Ηρωδη
και τοις συνανακειμενοις, ειπεν ο βασιλευς τω κορασιω· Αιτησαι
23, 24 με ο θελης και δωσω σοι | καν το ημισυ της βασιλειας. και εξελ-
θουσα ειπε τη μητρι αυτης· Τι αιτησωμαι; η δε ειπεν αυτη· Την
25 κεφαλην Ιωαννου του βαπτιζοντος. και εισελθουσα ευθυς μετα
σπουδης προς τον βασιλεα ειπεν εξαυτης· Δος μοι εξαυτης επι
26 πινακι την κεφαλην Ιωαννου του βαπτιζοντος. και περιλυπος
γενομενος ο βασιλευς δια τους ορκους και τους συνανακειμενους ουκ
27 ηθελεν αυτην αθετησαι, αλλα ευθυς αποστειλας σπεκουλατωρα
επεταξεν ενεχθηναι την κεφαλην αυτου. και απελθων απεκεφαλι-
28 σεν αυτον εν τη φυλακη, και ηνεγκε την κεφαλην αυτου επι πινακι,
και εδωκεν τω κορασιω· και το κορασιον εδωκεν τη μητρι αυτης.
29 οι δε μαθηται αυτου ακουσαντες ηλθαν κηδευσαι το πτωμα αυτου
30 και εθηκαν αυτο εν μνημειω. και συναγονται οι αποστολοι προς
τον Ιησουν, και απηγγειλαν αυτω παντα οσα εποιησαν και
31 εδιδασκον. και λεγει αυτοις ο Ιησους· Δευτε υμεις κατ ιδιαν εις
ερημον τοπον και αναπαυσασθε ολιγον. ησαν γαρ οι ερχομενοι
32 και οι υπαγοντες πολλοι, και ουδε φαγειν ηυκαιρουν. και απηλθον
33 εν τω πλοιω εις ερημον τοπον κατ ιδιαν. και ειδον αυτον υπα-
γοντα, και εγνωσαν πολλοι· και πεζη απο πασων των πολεων
34 εδραμον εκει, και συνηλθον αυτω. και εξελθων και ιδων οχλον
πολυν, εσπλαγχνισθη επ αυτοις, οτι ησαν ως προβατα μη εχοντα
35 ποιμενα· και ηρξατο αυτους διδασκειν. ηδη δε πολλης ωρας γενο-
μενης προσελθοντες οι μαθηται λεγουσιν αυτω οτι Ερημος εστιν
36 ο τοπος και ηδη ωρα παρηλθεν· απολυσον ουν τους οχλους, ινα
απελθοντες εις τους εγγιστα αγρους και κωμας αγορασωσιν εαυτοις
37 τι φαγωσιν. | ο δε αποκριθεις ειπεν· Δοτε αυτοις υμεις φαγειν.
και λεγουσιν· Απελθοντες αγορασομεν δηναριων εκατον αρτους,

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22 om δε 565 θυγατρος] + αυτου 565 om της (2°) 565 W
23 ante εως add και ωμωσεν (ωμωσας 28) αυτη (om αυτη 28) πολλα οτι ο εαν (αν 565) με (om με fam^{13}) αιτησης δωσω σοι Θ fam^{13} 28 565 700 Grg^{1} βασιλειας] + και ωμωσεν αυτη fam^{1} **24** αυτη] αιτησαι W Grg^{2} **25** om ευθυς fam^{1} W ειπεν εξαυτης] λεγουσα $Grg^{1.2}$ om ειπεν εξαυτης W om εξαυτης fam^{1} 28 $Grg^{1.2}$
27 αυτου] + επι πινακι W **32** απηλθεν fam^{13} 700 εις ερημον τοπον εν πλοιω 565 700 **33** om και συνηλθον αυτω W συνηλθον] ηλθον fam^{1} 565 προσηλθον Θ προσηλθεν fam^{13} αυτω] αυτους fam^{13} αυτου 565 αυτοις Θ om fam^{1}
34 ηρξαντο Θ W **35** ελεγον Θ Grg^{2} κωμας και αγρους fam^{1} om αγρους και Grg^{2B} κωμας] + αρτους 565 εαυτοις] + βρωματα Θ αγορασωσιν εαυτοις] καταλυσωσι fam^{1} τι φαγωσιν] φαγειν 565

και δωσωμεν αυτοις ινα φαγωσιν, ινα εκαστος αυτων βραχυ τι
38 λαβη; | ο δε λεγει αυτοις· Ποσους εχετε αρτους; υπαγετε, ιδετε.
39 και γνοντες λεγουσιν αυτω· Πεντε αρτους, και δυο ιχθυας. και
επεταξεν αυτοις παντας ανακλιθηναι συμποσια επι τω χλωρω
40 χορτω. και ανεπεσον πρασιαι πρασιαι ανα εκατον και ανα
41 πεντηκοντα. και λαβων τους πεντε αρτους και τους δυο ιχθυας,
αναβλεψας εις τον ουρανον ευλογησε· και κατεκλασε τους πεντε
αρτους και εδιδου τοις μαθηταις αυτου ινα παρατιθωσιν αυτοις·
42 και τους δυο ιχθυας εμερισε πασι. και εφαγον παντες και εχορ-
43 τασθησαν· και ηραν κλασματα δωδεκα κοφινων πληρωματα, και
44 απο των ιχθυων. και ησαν οι φαγοντες ως πεντακισχιλιοι ανδρες.
45 και ευθυς ηναγκασε τους μαθητας αυτου εμβηναι εις πλοιον και
προαγειν αυτον εις Βηθσαιδα, αυτος δε απελυσεν τους οχλους.
46, 47 και αποταξαμενος αυτοις ανηλθεν εις το ορος προσευξασθαι. και
οψιας γενομενης ην παλαι το πλοιον εν μεση τη θαλασση, και
48 αυτος μονος επι της γης. και ιδων αυτους ελαυνοντας και βα-
σανιζομενους, ην γαρ εναντιος ο ανεμος σφοδρα, περι τεταρτην
φυλακην της νυκτος ερχεται περιπατων επι της θαλασσης· και
49 ηθελε παρελθειν αυτους· οι δε ιδοντες αυτον επι της θαλασσης
50 περιπατουντα φαντασμα εδοξαν ειναι, και ανεκραξαν παντες και
εταραχθησαν. ευθυς δε ελαλησε προς αυτους, και λεγει αυτοις·
51 Θαρσειτε· εγω ειμι, μη φοβεισθε. και ανεβη εις το πλοιον προς
αυτους, και εκοπασεν ο ανεμος· και περισσως εν αυτοις εξεπλησ-
52 σοντο. ου γαρ συνηκαν επι τοις αρτοις· αλλ ην αυτων η καρδια
53 πεπωρωμενη. και διαπερασαντες ηλθον επι την γην εις Γεννησαρεθ.
54 και εξελθοντων αυτων εκ του πλοιου ευθυς επεγνωσαν αυτον οι αν-
55 δρες του τοπου, | και περιεδραμον εις ολην την περιχωρον εκεινην,
και ηρξαντο επι κραββατοις φερειν παντας τους κακως εχοντας
56 οτι ηκουον οτι εστιν εκει. και οποταν εισεπορευοντο εις αγρους η
κωμας η πολεις, εν ταις πλατειαις ετιθουν τους ασθενουντας, και
παρεκαλουν αυτον ινα καν του κρασπεδου του ιματιου αυτου αψων-
ται· και οσοι ηψαντο διεσωζοντο.

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40 ανεπεσαν Θ fam^{1} 28 700 W 43 ηραν] + το περισσευσαν των κλασματων 700
44 om ως fam^{13} W Grg^{1} 45 απολυσει fam^{13} 28 700 απολυει fam^{1}
48 περι δε 565 700 ερχεται] + προς αυτους ο ιησους Grg^{2} προς αυτους] αυτοις 565
51 περισσως] εκπερισσως fam^{1} εκ περισσου 28 W εξεπλησσοντο] εξισταντο Θ
53 γενησαρε Grg^{1} 54 om ευθυς 565 700 τοπου] + εκεινου fam^{1}
55 περιεδραμον] εκπεριδραμοντες fam^{1} περιχωρον] χωραν Θ om εκει Θ
56 οποταν] οταν 565^{3} αγρους η κωμας] κωμας η αγρους 700 om αγρους η fam 1 διεσωζοντο] εσωθησαν 565

Mark xi

1 και οτε εγγιζουσιν εις Ιεροσολυμα, εις Βηθανιαν προς το ορος των
2 Ελαιων, απεστειλε δυο των μαθητων αυτου | λεγων· Υπαγετε εις
την κωμην την κατεναντι υμων· και ευθεως εισπορευομενοι εις αυτην
ευρησετε πωλον δεδεμενον εφ ον ουδεις ανθρωπων ουπω εκαθισεν·
3 λυσατε αυτον και αγαγετε. και εαν τις υμιν ειπη· Τι λυετε τον
πωλον; ειπατε οτι Ο κυριος αυτου χρειαν εχει· και ευθεως αυτον
4 αποστελει ωδε. και απελθοντες ευρον πωλον δεδεμενον προς θυραν
5 εξω επι του αμφοδου, και λυουσιν αυτον. τινες δε των εκει εστη-
6 κοτων λεγουσιν αυτοις· Τι ποιειτε λυοντες τον πωλον; οι δε ειπον
7 αυτοις καθως ειπεν αυτοις ο Ιησους· και αφηκαν αυτους. και
αγουσιν τον πωλον προς τον Ιησουν, και επιβαλλουσιν αυτω ιμα-
8 τια, και καθιζει επ αυτον. πολλοι δε τα ιματια εστρωννυον εν
τη οδω· αλλοι δε στοιβαδας εκοπτον εκ δενδρων και εστρωννυον εν
9 τη οδω. και οι προαγοντες και οι ακολουθουντες εκραζον λεγοντες·
Ωσαννα τω υψιστω· ευλογημενος ο ερχομενος εν ονοματι κυριου·
10 ευλογημενη η ερχομενη βασιλεια του πατρος ημων Δαβιδ· ειρηνη
11 εν ουρανω και δοξα εν υψιστοις. και εισελθων εις Ιεροσολυμα εις
το ιερον περιβλεψαμενος παντα, οψιας ηδη ουσης της ημερας, εξηλ-
12 θεν εις Βηθανιαν μετα των δωδεκα. και τη επαυριον εξελθοντων
13 απο Βηθανιας επεινασε, και ιδων συκην απο μακροθεν εχουσαν
φυλλα ηλθεν εις αυτην ως ευρησων τι εν αυτη· ελθων δε επ αυτην
και μηδεν ευρων ει μη φυλλα μονον, ου γαρ ην ο καιρος συκων, |
14 ειπεν αυτη· Μηκετι εις τον αιωνα εκ σου μηδεις καρπον φαγη. και
15 ηκουσαν οι μαθηται αυτου. | και ερχεται εις Ιεροσολυμα. και εισελ-
θων εις το ιερον ηρξατο εκβαλλειν τους πωλουντας και αγοραζον-
τας εν τω ιερω, και τας τραπεζας των κολλυβιστων εξεχεεν και

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1 ηγγισαν fam^{13} ιεροσολυμα] + και (om και Θ fam^{1} fam^{13}) εις βηθφαγη (βηθσφαγη fam^{1} fam^{13}) και Θ fam^{1} fam^{13} 565 2 λεγων] et dixit Grg$^{1.2}$ 3 λυσατε] και λυσαντες fam^{13} 28 αγαγετε] + μοι Grg^{1} om λυετε τον πωλον fam^{1} W Grg$^{1.2}$ αποστελλει Θ fam^{13} 28 565 αποστελλει] + αυτον Θ Grg$^{1.2}$ 4 και απελθοντες] απηλθον ουν και fam^{1} fam^{13} 28 5 εστωτων W 8 δε (2°) και Grg$^{1.2}$ om fam^{1} om αλλοι δε στιβαδας εκοπτον εκ δενδρων και εστρωννυον εν τη οδω W 9 om ωσαννα τω υψιστω W 10 om ερχομενη fam^{1} om εν ουρανω και δοξα 28 700 W 11 παντας 565 12 απο βηθανιας] εις βηθανιαν W om fam^{1} 13 απο μακροθεν συκην W ως ευρησων τι] ει αρα τι ευρησει fam^{1} 28 W ελθων δε επ αυτην] και 700 Grg^{2} μονα 28 ει μη φυλλα μονον] in [illegible] 14 [illegible] + ο ιησους W

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The Caesarean text of the Gospel of Mark

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